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[PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.]

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ARMED ASSOCIATION
IN
GREAT BRITAIN.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
OBSERVATIONS ON THE DEBATES AND
RESOLUTIONS OF THE
WHIG CLUB,

ON THE SIXTH OF JUNE, 1797.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. SEWELL, CORNHILL; AND
J. WRIGHT, OPPOSITE OLD BOND-STREET,
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AN

ADDRESS TO THE NATION.

IRELAND has of late years made rapid advances in Foreign Trade, Internal Wealth, and in Political and Religious Liberty: the Commerce of Great Britain has been laid open to her Merchants; many oppressive Laws against the Members of the Roman Church have been repealed; the Parliaments have been rendered Octennial; and she has obtained to be numbered among the Independent Nations of Europe.

The numerous acquisitions which form the total of these changes, were made in a few years, and with a succession which might be called rapid; yet the period was long enough to produce a habit of change upon the spirit of a People whose temperament exceeds the common degree of ardour. In times of change, men of ability in the lower and middle ranks

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of Society rise in importance ; and when the purposes for which they are associated in plans of action, by the upper class, are obtained, it is not easy to induce them at once to lay it down.

The length of the struggle of Ireland to attain her present state has formed a vast and a disciplined body of persons of this description : and many of the middle aged men of Ireland have been trained, and in this school, of perpetual plan and mutation, from their earliest years, to the most perfect period of human life ; and are consummate masters of the art of employing every thing which can be expected from perfect system, and long practised dexterity, to bad, as well as good purposes. In the first contest likewise, a considerable ferment of Republicanism was introduced into the minds of no small number of them : in a Republic, or a Monarchy nearly approaching to it, such men stand the best chance of being the Leaders. Thus, in the midst of its increasing prosperity, the fire was generated in the lower mineral strata of the country, whose progress has endangered, and whose explosion may cover it entirely over with ruin and desolation.

Such

Such was the external face of prosperity, and the concealed danger of Ireland, when that danger became greatly augmented by the successive French Revolutions, which, at the instant the Conspiracy was planned (some account of which is here to be given) received from its Architect the title of the "Morning Star of Liberty to Ireland(1)."

Without the excitement derived from this sad series of tragical events, the fire might have burned out for want of further materials to support it, and this dangerous generation of men passed away, without much hazard of involving themselves and their country in destruction, however unwilling they might have been to sacrifice the importance they could only continue to enjoy in the continuance of the agitated state of Society. But the example of France at that very period, pointed out to them the means of converting the importance they still retained, into permanent power; and making both, the means of the acquisition of wealth. The effect of these Revolutions upon the minds of the lower orders of all the States

(1) Report of Committee of Commons, p. 4.

in Europe, opened to them new facilities for this atrocious attempt. For the comparative privations⁽¹⁾ to which the nature of Society has doomed this class fills them with envy against the opulent : and this keeps the principle of levelling constantly alive among them, and ready to burst forth into action, with every opportunity of success at home, or example of it from abroad.

Great Britain, during the same period, had been much agitated with new plans of Government, and Combinations, and Factions : the effects of the transactions in France, began ul-

(1) In a Society where there are many rich men, the appearance of the difference of their state and that of the poor, will be great ; but the industrious and prudent poor man will be able to command more of the necessaries and conveniences of life, than in a state where there is more equality of wealth ; because there will be more demand for his work, and he will get a better price for it. There are countries, where there is much more equality in the circumstances of different ranks of people, than in Great Britain ; and in those countries there are Princes and Nobility ; yet it is agreed by those who have visited some of these regions where there is so much equality, that an industrious and sober poor man in England, sleeps in a better house, wears better clothes, and is better supplied with food, than even a Prince there.

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imately to make the same impressions on too many of the lower orders there ; nor did they want able Leaders and a regular system, to form this misled multitude into an Army of Conspirators.

It appears now, that the magnitude of the danger to the Kingdom from these principles, and these men, was not so well understood by Opposition as by the other side : and it may be hoped, it may be expected, that many of them are enemies of that desperate policy

—“ Of setting all the land on fire,
“ To burn to a scantling, and no higher (1) ;”

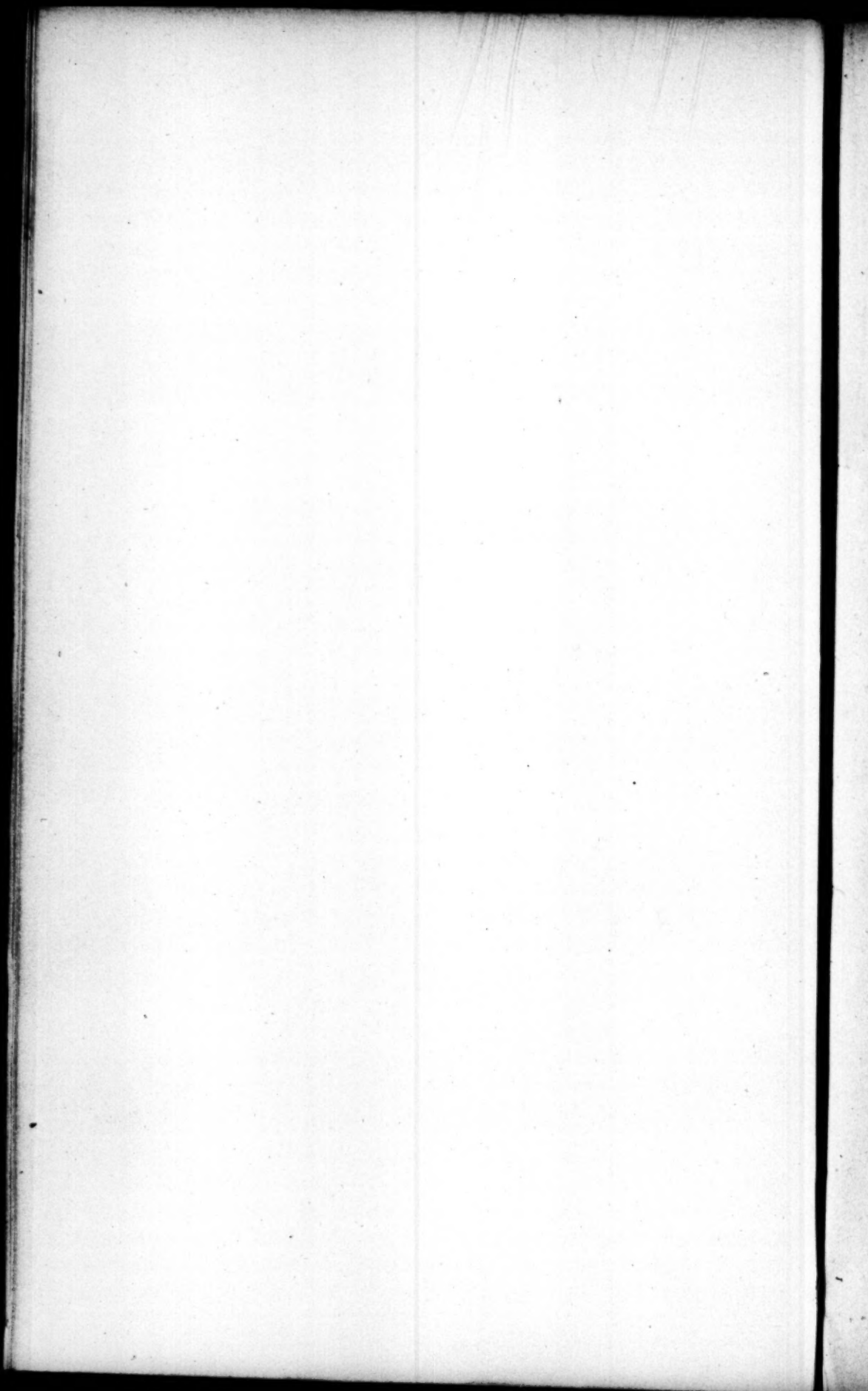
by which some men in the last century endeavoured to rise to the height of power ; who encouraged the wildest popular commotions, in hope by their own popular ascendancy, after they had rendered them subservient to their own purposes, instantly to extinguish them.

It is useful here to remember also, that when the danger of the Throne had acquired a more determinate evidence, some of its former opponents became the best supports, and the most

(1) Hudibras.

splendid ornaments of its cause. Such was Lord FALKLAND; and such was Mr. HYDE, who added to his unshaken fidelity to the Crown, an unshaken fidelity to the Constitution; when, as Prime Minister, he refused to suffer his Sovereign to be virtually invested with absolute power. An accident of the moment has drawn me into a repetition of this beautiful part of our History; it is Mr. SHERIDAN's late noble declaration, "That we are now in a situation in which Government and the Legislature would betray their Country, if they were not as resolute in resisting, as others are in propagating Mutiny and Insurrection;" to which he afterwards added, "I am willing to support Government in resisting Foreign Enemies; and also those Enemies at home, whose foul and infamous artifices have been employed to seduce the Sailors, without whom this Country cannot be saved. I will therefore support this measure."

In this, it is true, a hope is to be founded of the *bonorum omnium consensus*; the union of every good and eminent character in the State, against the peril which now threatens it. But this is an effect of vast magnitude; and it points out both the magnitude of that peril and the clearness



continuance of the correspondence and co-operation of the United Irish with the disaffected and seditious Societies of Great Britain(1), which appears from the Evidence discovered in Ireland, proves the disaffected throughout the Empire to continue to act as one body, to one end, although not now connected by a visible Convention.

The Conspirators to establish a Republic in Britain, always join with those who call for an alteration in the Constitution of the Commons House; to which they give the name of Reform, and are loudest in the clamour for it. This, it is contended, can only be effected in one way, by the action of the People (2); and in this mode they attempt to obtain their ultimate object, a National Convention. Thus their end and pretence, and those of the Irish Conspirators, are the same: for to effect a Reform, some specific Plan, be it what it may, must be deliberated on and agreed to; and

(1) Commons' Report, p. 52.—(2) "It is to the People
" and the People only, we can look for that energy, by
" which the Nation is to be snatched from ruin."—Speech
of the Chairman at the Meeting for Parliamentary Reform,
at the Crown and Anchor, May 19, 1797, as his words are
stated in the *Morning Chronicle*, May 20.

this can only be done by the Parliament, or by the Nation at large, or its Delegates assembled in Convention. By the Parliament it is expressly affirmed it never will be assented to (1). They likewise know it to be an impossibility for a great Nation to act as a Deliberative Body; and therefore that a Convention is necessary to effect this change, is the consequence, and the consequence intended to be inculcated on the People by those who treat the question in this mode. And if the sentiments of the Chairman, copied in the margin from the Newspapers, be rightly stated in them, a Convention is the point he must be understood to drive at.

The party who hold on this point the same sentiments with this Chairman, have the same object in view as the Conspirators in Ireland,

(1) At the same Meeting, the Chairman is in that Paper said to have declared, after asserting that "it would be "a farce to petition the Crown" for a Reform in Parliament, that it was, in "his opinion, not less absurd "to petition that Parliament, and to call upon it to forego "that corruption," &c.—He is stated also to have added for a certain inadequate cause which he assigns, that "the "Works of T. PAINE had been less efficient with the "People of this Country than they ought to be."—*Morning Chronicle*, May 20.

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a National Convention. They warmly approve likewise of the means they have recourse to, to obtain that object ; “ for in taking a view “ of the situations of some persons in the Sister “ Kingdom,” he is said to have maintained that “ they were to be considered *as Patriots* suffering in the general *cause of Liberty* (1).” This language implies, that the persons alluded to (the Irish Conspirators in prison) are pursuing a just end, and by just means. For to argue for a moment on an admission that their ostensible object is right—suppose any powerful debtor to refuse to pay a creditor a just debt, who was not able by course of law to compel him ; and that the latter were to form a plan to rob or murder him, to recover his property, which should be detected, and he committed to prison, upon such discovery ; the person who should speak of him in terms of praise, so far forth as to say he was suffering for the assertion of his just rights, must be understood to approve the means ; and such must be the sentiments of any man who deliberately calls the Irish Conspirators now in prison, “ *Patriots* suffering in the general *cause of Liberty*.”

(1) Morning Chronicle, May 20.

Mr. HORNE TOOKE has publicly declared that THE Revolution is begun: he therefore knew some Revolution to have been intended.

It may perhaps as probably be expected as it is ardently to be wished, that a great part of the Minority will concur to strengthen Government at this critical season: yet some of their former arguments and declarations may tend to produce a belief, that there exists no Conspiracy in Great Britain to effect a Revolution. As far as these shall obtain belief, by persuading people of the non-existence of the present danger, they must hinder their concurrence in active measures to guard against it; they therefore must be considered, but considered upon account of their future effects only; not with a desire of keeping alive former points of debate, for at this season a perfect truce ought perhaps to be observed by both parties as to all such, and with the good faith of gallant Enemies; as trifling hostilities now may tend to re-involve them in greater. This Armistice to continue till that day, when the thick cloud which seems gathering over us, shall be carried off.

The next we war; if war be doom'd by heaven (1).

(1) POPE's Homer. See Note at the end of this Tract.

Some

Some persons of great name in Opposition, have told the Nation, that all ideas of danger from the Clubs and Societies in Great Britain, are fictitious; and that we have been alarmed with respect to them without foundation. Their opinions may be considered, both as authentically and well stated, in Mr. ERSKINE's Pamphlet. He considers the evidence of the charge against the Societies of Great Britain and those of Ireland, as standing upon the same ground, and says, "that in the
 "latter Country it is demonstrated, that a
 "desire to reform the abuses in the Govern-
 "ment, is not at all connected with disloyalty
 "to its establishment (1)." This position of Mr. ERSKINE's is contradicted by the Reports of the Committee of the Irish House of Lords; in which it is stated, that "the de-
 "mand for a Reform, and the Catholic Eman-
 "cipation, were held out merely as a pretence
 "for the Associations, and with a desire to
 "seduce persons who were not acquainted with
 "their traiterous design to unite with them (2)."

We have also been formerly told by those Gentlemen, that the original declared object of the

(1) View of the Causes, &c. of the War with France, Ed. 31, p. 16.—(2) Lords' Report, p. 2.

United Irishmen was expedient and just. The contrary, even in the points in which their pretended cause received their support, has been proved many times. But not to insist upon that at present, they had proceeded to say, that it was only after having been irritated by a refusal of their desires, that they ran into Sedition and Treason. But here we see, in the very Letter on which their original plan was built, a proof to the contrary; and that their demands were advanced to gather together a Party, to carry into effect Traiterous Purposes; Purposes which the Projector of the Association thought "too hardy" to be disclosed even to the original Associators, who are generally the very Zealots in a pre-existing party. In both the points instanced above, a disposition to repel accusation, and believe the best of a Party who supported their friends in another Kingdom, might blind their advocates to their real intentions: yet the aid they could receive from them, was only circuitous: this, however, was a great political error, and can we think or suppose, or can we suffer our fate to depend upon the chance, that they have not been equally deceived with respect to the guilt of the Conspirators here? Was not the more direct support they received from them on all occasions, equally able to blind them?

Let

Let us come to another point formerly laid down by Mr. **ERSKINE** and his friends; that the Associators of Ireland did not intend to co-operate with the French, in case they had effected their projected Descent there. The words of Mr. **ERSKINE** on this event are, "that the restoration of a free Constitution, by the wisdom and spirit of a Nation, has no alliance with, but, on the contrary, is utterly abhorrent to, a submission to foreign force (1)." The disposition of the Irish Conspirators to co-operate with that force, and their preparations for that purpose, have been shewn by the Evidence.

I continue with Mr. **ERSKINE**, to put the cause of the Seditious in Britain and Ireland upon the same ground; and therefore suppose, that the same pretences being used here, are used as a veil to gather together a Party to subvert the Constitution by the assistance of a Foreign Enemy.

From the virtual concession of the Opposition in England, that the charges against the Societies in Britain and Ireland are equally

(1) View, &c. p. 16,

true or equally false; from the ultimate correspondence and co-operation of these Societies, shewn to subsist by the Irish Reports; and the Conspirators of each of the three Nations having sent their Delegates to a common Convention, thereby forming themselves into one body, under one head, it appears that the existence of a Conspiracy in England similar to that in Ireland, is not to be doubted; or rather, that each is part and portion of one whole.

Having shewn the nature of the Conspiracy carrying on in this Kingdom, I shall proceed to its consequences as affecting particular classes of people, because, although ruinous to each, it operates to produce that ruin by different modes, according to the different circumstances of each class.

If men of property do not arm in defence of property, a great body of the lower class will be united, under whatever pretence or watchword of the day, to seize it. The armed banditti of France will join them (1); and that

(1) The question, whether a Descent will be made to cover an Insurrection, when the Plot is ripe; or an Insurrection of the Conspirators to favour a Descent, is not considered. It is taken for granted, that the one will be the consequence of the other, whichever takes place first.

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Nation obtain either a temporary or permanent Government in this Country.

It does not seem necessary to inquire which they will chuse to assume; there is one consequence common to both, which never can be too much considered by the trading and mercantile part of the community, and the numerous train of their workmen and dependants.

The Mercantile Capital of France may be said to be nearly annihilated: that of England, the last remaining of the three great Commercial Capitals, now commands the Market of the World. The Trade of France is at present reduced to the imbecillity of infancy; and many must be the years of that infancy, more of its adolescence, even under circumstances tolerably favourable to it: but France has no such in prospect; nor even reason to expect that it will be able, except by very slow degrees, to rear its head again; depressed as it must be by a newly acquired predominance of its old Rival, the Commerce of Britain, always too powerful for it.

Our Manufactures even now, exclude their own out of their own Markets: of this we have the authority of the Report of BLUTEL, in

the name of a Committee, and so recently as the 25th of last October—"England (it is said in that Report) flings Manufactured Commodities into France, at the lowest prices, "and even at a loss, which has the effect to "paralyze and annihilate your fabrics and industry (1)." And of this we may be certain, that if their Manufactures come so dear into their own Markets, that they cannot support a Competition with English Commodities, with freight and circuitous carriage added to their prices, "it will be absolutely impossible for the French Exporter (who must add to that higher charge in France, the expences of Freight and Commission) to do any business in a Foreign Market where those English Manufactures are sent. Thus it is, that the French are excluded from the Commerce of

(1) Telle est la spéculation Machiavélique du Commerce de l'Angleterre, qui forme des Associations à perte, pour verser à vil prix dans la France, des objets Manufacturés, à l'effet de paralyser et d'anéantir vos fabriques et votre industrie.—Finances 1796, D'IVERNOS, p. 139.

The idea of the associations of loss, was too ridiculous to give a place to in the Text. What I am writing is grave politics; it admits no farcical idea of political romance. See also a Speech of a Member of the Council of Five Hundred, July 21, which seems to have given rise to this Committee of Inquiry.

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the World : nor, with their best industry, and fortune which can attend them, will this generation of men see the former situation and relative proportion of Trade in any tolerable degree restored.

One measure only can accelerate the arrival of that period, the annihilation of the Commercial Capital of this Kingdom ; the influence of which, must, at least, long continue to depress them. If they can effect this, the relative inequality of the two Nations will be removed ; the Commerce of France will also rise again with much greater speed and facility, if such a potent obstacle be very greatly reduced in power ; and if our Commerce were in a great part annihilated, our Maritime Force would be reduced in the same degree, an object of the first consequence to France, as a Military State, the character she now particularly wishes to assume. Hence it appears, that the destruction of the English Capital, or which amounts pretty nearly to the same thing, the reduction of it in the same proportion to that in which the French Capital has been reduced, is absolutely necessary to the restitution of their Naval Power as well as their Commerce, in any period to which they will consent to have such

a desirable event postponed: it is then only, with the wrecks of their Manufactures, and the remaining produce of their soil capable of being made objects of Commerce, that they can come into the market, and support a Competition against the Commodities of Britain. Even when France has not been stimulated by a double motive, the plunder of Men possessed of great Stocks in Money and Commodities, or those whom they call rich Capitalists, have been the first objects of their depredations, in their own and every other Country; but when another goad besides avarice urges on the spirit of plunder to the destruction of this species of property, will less violence of system be employed, when it will serve the additional purpose of driving British Commodities out of all Foreign Markets, or reduce their facilities of sending them thither, to a level with their own? the only means of giving vent to them there. And is not the latter evidently the only way of providing some, but an inadequate addition, to the work and maintenance of the remainder of the class of workmen whom the sword, hunger, the guillotine, and all their new forms of murder with new names, have left alive? Every Populace, even the most regular, when their labour cannot procure them
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the means of subsistence, are always terrible to the best and the most venerable Governments by their desperation : What must a Government such as that of France, expect from a Populace now educated nine years in desperation and in crimes? France will continue to make Military Power its principal object ; but a Navy is one great nerve of that Power ; and unless the Republic takes measures to restore her Commerce, her Marine must fall into annihilation. And hence it is, that the destruction of our Mercantile Capital, the richest plunder which the world in its present state affords, will not only excite their rage for depredation to the highest degree ; their National Ambition to become a Maritime Power is a second stimulus of incalculable strength, which will urge them on to its destruction. That this is their object, we have in effect the evidence of their own confession ; and that of a spirit of a grand branch of their system of policy, each of which confirms the general reasoning given above. SIEYES directs their Councils ; read his own inflated declaration—" *France Wills to have a " grand and superb existence, Naval and Commercial.*" — From him came the Council to transfer into France the Naval and Commercial

mercial Establishment of Holland. Thus, as JOERSSON observes, the two Countries "are upon an exact level, without Shipping, Sailors, Colonies or Commerce;" and can the Traders of Great Britain, Great Britain for which the Republic has declared her utmost vengeance reserved—a Republic which never failed, when in her power, to make her vengeance extend far beyond her menaces—expect that the Commerce and Capital of their Country, subjected to the discretion of France, will receive more favour from her? when, even as I am writing, are you not reading, that after having republicanized Venice, a State which hitherto, under the name of a Neutrality, has almost been in subjection to the Republic, they have seized her Navy, and the contents of her immense Arsenals? and can we look on that event without a thought of what must be the fate of our own, if they obtain a footing here?

Without such an obvious opportunity, there is no measure France has left unattempted to destroy a Commerce in which she must long despair in any degree to participate. To deprive us of the direct Trade of Spain, and the circuitous

circuitous market of her Colonies, that Kingdom has been forced into a War with us. To divest us of that of Portugal and the Brazils, that Country is about to be over-run with a Spanish Army, and the disciplined and ferocious Buccaneers of the Republic. To circumscribe our Trade in Italy, and the Mediterranean, they have with an armed force seized Leghorn, a Neutral Port, and subject to the first Prince who was seduced from the Alliance; and to this they have recently added the military occupation of the Neutral States of Venice and Genoa. To exclude us from the Northern Trade, and that of Germany, " they have made " attempts against Hamburgh and the Hanse-
 " atic Towns(1) ;" and commenced hostilities against the United States of America, for signing a Treaty of Commerce with us. They have thus, with the most perfect system, attacked us in almost every point of the whole circle of our Trade, and in some with success; although not hitherto with enough to counterbalance the augmentations it has received from the accession of a great part of their own, and that of Holland transferred to us by their follies and their crimes.

(1) Letter to a Minister of State, MALLET DU PAN, p. 32.

The connection and tendency of all these measures point to a common object, the destruction of the Commerce of this Kingdom; and if, by obtaining established footing here, they were able to effect it by destroying our Commercial Capital, no doubt of its total demolition could be entertained; and, in the present circumstances of the Republic, an ambition far less criminal than that which has always actuated her Councils, would hardly neglect what is the obvious means for the most speedy cure of their internal distress. So great is the danger of annihilation to which our Commerce is exposed, by the prevalence of the *fanatic principles* of Liberty, nursed and disseminated with so much protecting care by men of so many descriptions among us. The consequences to be drawn from what is said of it, bearing directly upon the subject here considered in chief, will justify the attention paid to it.

The spirit of Jacobinism is more or less disseminated over the whole Country; but prevails in its greatest force, and has made most converts, in Cities and Great Towns, always the sources of corruption in principles and practice. Hence men possessing Trading Capital
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are surrounded by most Enemies, and are liable to the most sudden attacks. It has been fully shewn, that an Insurrection will move in concert with, or be followed by, an Invasion; one of whose leading objects will be the seizure of their moveable, and the destruction of their immoveable property; to take off all the weight with which the unrivalled Capital of Great Britain depresses and must for years depress the Commerce and Industry of the remaining Manufactures of France. Such is the danger of this class of men from a Foreign Enemy. But let it be supposed, that the Invaders will be ultimately repulsed, or not able to effect a Descent on the Coast; that Domestic Insurgents are the only Enemies they will have to contend with, and even that these, finally, will be vanquished; in the tract of Country where they shall for a time prevail, to what will men of Trading Property be subject? To the arbitrary taxation of their Committees, their Requisitions, their Revolutionary Tribunals, and Proscription. Is not the fate of LA BORDE the Banker a terrible lesson to you? Eight times he suffered the terrors of Death, from which he as often redeemed himself by a ransom, and redeemed himself in vain: on the 18th of April, 1794, he was

guillotined; and his remaining effects confiscated(1). And what have not you, your Wives, your Families and Friends, to fear from even such a temporary Anarchy? To guard against such universal ruin, it becomes necessary *for all those who are adverse to the principles of Anarchy*, and who possess Commercial Property, to take measures of precaution for defence, while it yet remains in their power; and

(1) *Bloody Buoy*, p. 171, London.—*Bloody Buoy*, written by Mr. WILLIAM CORBET, now of Philadelphia, a Native of this Country. He was first known as a Writer, by his observations on the Emigration of Dr. PRIESTLEY. I transcribe the Motto of his Book, as it points out the origin of the title he has given it:—"You will plunge your Country into an abyss of eternal detestation and infamy, and the annals of your boasted Revolution will serve as a *Bloody Buoy*, warning the Nations of the Earth to keep aloof from the mighty ruin."—This energetic passage is part of a speech of the Abbé MAURY's to the National Assembly.

This Publication contains a miscellaneous collection of enormous crimes committed by the Republicans; the Works from which it is extracted were all written by Frenchmen, and all but one (of which little use is made) printed at Paris.

The English Edition is here quoted, which has the advantage of a well-written Preface. The Editor has also given some extremely good additions to it, from the Memoirs of General DANICAN, and the Letters of an English Lady resident four years in France.

for

- for this, nothing but a well-systematized and Armed Association will be sufficient.

There is another part of this class whom I must now address: those who have drunk too deeply of this poison, or those who for other ends favour its diffusion. There is one quality with a bad name, which the men who will acquire power by the subversion of all Law will not suffer to be imputed to their measures, that is, Partiality: in the infliction of ruin they will be impartial; so will the Invaders.—The first section of this class, the sober Friends of Liberty, will be plundered hostilely; the second, the Fanatics of the new principles of Liberty, fraternally. Perhaps some external marks of regard to them may be convenient to be for a time kept up, which, however, it is predetermined at a short period to lay aside; to the latter must be recommended the consideration of the fate of the Merchants of Bourdeaux who were distinguished by the ardour by which they promoted the French Revolution. On the 13th of March 1794, they were all arrested in one day; led to the guillotine, and forced to compound for their lives, by paying a fine of one hundred millions of livres, or

4,166,666l.(1). If further evidence of your folly and danger can be required, such evidence shall be given, to which no exception can lie; it is that of Mr. PAINÉ : " to such a pitch of " rage and suspicion (says he, in his attack on " General WASHINGTON) were ROBESPIERRE " and his Committee arrived, *that no man could " count upon his life for twenty hours ;*" and of a list of persons ordered for execution, he tells us, " I have good reason to believe I was included in it (2)."

Attend to the fate impending over the heads of those guilty and misguided men of property, who tampered in the Irish part of this Conspiracy, and from which they owe their rescue to its detection. In a paper entitled County Reports, 11th April, 1797, the first article is as follows :

" Received from the *Aristocrats* of Belfast " 3746l. 4s. 6d.(3)."

Here the term under which the opulent supporters of the Conspiracy are mentioned,

(1) Bloody Buoy, p. 171.—(2) Bloody Buoy, London, additional Facts, p. 259.—(3) Com. Rep. p. 34.

marks them out for Proscription, and almost denounces to them the improbability that they may be reserved as the second class of victims in the projected Revolution.

The term likewise proves, that the lower class of the Conspirators have their meetings apart from their superiors, and at which the most material resolves are taken, for their friends who possess property would not have been so described, if any such had been at that meeting; and that the spirit which actuates the lower order menaces them with no less danger than it menaces the remainder of the men of property in that Country: thus the train and conduct of the affair is clearly slipped out of their hands; and such is the spirit of their Plot, that their rank and property will be no recommendation to them to regain it; and it may be determined in one Council to take off the heads of those who are debating at another, in full confidence that the guidance of every thing vests in them. For this lower class of Traitors have also their Architects of Plots among them, who can organize a hostile Conspiracy within a Conspiracy with as much dexterity as their great Leaders organized a hostile State within a State. They can, it appears,
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poach History for examples of such constructions, or at least they can read the popular play of *Richard the Third*, and copy the murderous policy of that Tyrant, and the mechanism of his double Council.

Can the more opulent class of their supporters doubt that their design, so clearly indicated, under circumstances of danger and with some impolicy, will not be executed when the plenitude of power shall give them security? or can those who are embarked in the same guilt here, hope that the conduct and measures of the Conspirators in England will not be the same as those of Ireland? as they are both Agents in one design, carried on by common Councils, as was demonstrated by the Delegates of Ireland sitting in that meeting, which was, as far as it was a Convention, the Convention of the British Kingdoms.

It is upon these deluded men that I call to withdraw themselves from a Plot, whose success must be attended with ruin to all of them, and with extermination to many; and to support it no longer with their countenance or fortunes. The Military Association recommended is rendered necessary for their own defence:

by

by their guilt, their folly, or both conjointly, let them not weaken it, nor attempt to frustrate it by their opposition, nor corrupt it, and infuse jealousy, and consequently inefficiency into it, by their personal junction. The sincerity of their return to their duty as Subjects, if danger can recall them to wisdom or the love of their Country, will be best displayed by other and less suspicious kinds of support which they can give to this institution.

But the seductions of that bad class of men who seek for a Republic under the name of a Reform, or for a state of Anarchy under the name of a Republic, have operated with most effect on Workmen and Labourers, and particularly on the lower classes of our Cities and Great Towns: many of them already devour in expectation the spoils of the opulent, which they expect to acquire from the new system of Equality and Plunder. But on no class of men will the miseries in which they wish to involve their Country, fall with greater weight. If it be yet possible to make them leave the path which leads to their own destruction, I would invite them to consider the proof of these two points. The first is, if by their assistance the
French

French should obtain a mastery in the Country for a short time, the consequence of it will be a Famine; and the second, that if it were possible to suppose the Kingdom could escape that calamity, they will not be able to earn a subsistence by their labour; as the Manufacturers and Artizans will have very little demand for it.

What is one leading cause which induces France to keep so many of her Armies in Foreign States, and fills them with Recruits? The impossibility of the men finding subsistence for themselves at home, or their Rulers for them(1).

(1) In the latter end of the War of the Spanish Succession, the Victories of MARLBOROUGH had reduced LOUIS the XIVth to the last extremities: to this was added a Famine. His Minister thought the Conquest of the Kingdom thereby almost certain. The King saw in the second calamity, the counter-poison of the first. They were astonished at his conduct, when he seemingly neglected all care of recruiting his Army. But he had given orders for purchasing abroad great stores of corn for it, and enticed by the plenty the Soldiers enjoyed, the people enlisted in great multitudes, and he took the field the next spring in greater force than in any preceding year of that War. If he could have led them as a Conqueror into a Foreign State, where they were confident of obtaining subsistence and plunder, the force a Famine would have enabled him to raise, would have been still greater.

“ It

" It was become absolutely necessary, at what-
 " ever price it was to be accomplished, that
 " the French should march forward into other
 " Countries, in search of subsistence, of horses,
 " of clothes, and above all, of money(1);"
 even the Countries conquered by France,
 " having been reduced to a level with herself,
 " a common equality of dearth and misery."

The Declarations of the Directory prove this
 representation not to be exaggerated; so early
 as May, 1796, " they stated that Commerce
 " and Agriculture had expired under oppression
 " and plunder: that consumption went on with-
 " out re-production; and the land presented no
 " picture but of sterility and desolation(2)."

To the Declaration of the Directory on
 this subject, and of their greater speakers in
 their two Councils (a faint resemblance of our
 two Houses of Parliament) no objection can
 be fairly made; and I shall say very little but
 from these two authorities. When the roads
 of a country are suffered to go to ruin by the

(1) History of the Campaign of 1796, p. 5. Cadell, &c.
 1797. A Tract, the materials of which were apparently
 collected with great care, perfectly beautiful in the outline,
 and chastely elegant in its colouring.—(2) JOHANSSON, p. 69.
 Extract of an Address of the Directory to the People of
 France, May 26, 1796.

neglect of repairs, it is impossible for the Farmer to carry his corn to market under a very great expence. He will consequently raise less, and so make it much dearer to the Manufacturers, and Workmen of Great Towns. The Directory, in their Letter to the Minister of the Finances, written July 24, 1796, which they have published, affirm, "that the state
 "of absolute ruin of the great roads, in-
 "terrupts all trading communication (1), and
 "dries up a principal source of national pros-
 "perity." And the destruction of their Navigable Canals, which increase the production of Corn, by rendering its carriage to market easy, has not been less complete or less rapid. One of the finest works of this kind in Europe, is the Canal of Languedoc: on the 15th of August last it was voted in the Council of Five Hundred, "that this Canal was then threat-
 "ened with a progressive and rapid ruin."

This is one proof that the Directory were right, when they said "that the land was a
 "picture of barrenness and desolation." And to that I add another—when the life and property of the Farmer are in danger, and he has

(1) The Corn Trade is the principal of these.

not the protection of Law, he will not till the ground, as his Crop, or the Money he sells it for, may be taken from him by force. Now in many of the divisions of the Country, which they call Departments, there are bands of robbers, to the number of two or three hundred, who wander over the whole face of them; and we are informed by the Proclamation of the Magistrates of the Central Department of the Seine, that this is the case not only in distant parts of the Country, but that even in the very heart of France, "they enter with boldness
 "into the houses of Citizens, plunder their
 "property, and commit daily the most horrid
 "assassinations(1)." Some of these Departments are over-run by a cruel and detestable set of wretches, called *chauffeurs*, or *warmers*: these, we are informed by the speech of BARNARD LA GRAVE on the 3d of November last, "get into the houses of the peaceable
 "Farmer, bind him and his whole family,
 "kindle a great fire, and burn their feet and
 "legs, until they make them confess where
 "they conceal their money and precious effects." He adds, that the execution of the Law is so feeble, that "this crime remains un-

(1) See the Moniteur Nov. 17, 1796.

"punished." Thus the solitary farm houses in the Country must be abandoned; and the produce of the land in corn and cattle be rendered very small indeed.

We have another strong proof of the truth of what the Directory itself said of the failure of this produce, in their Address to the Council of Five Hundred on the same day on which BARNARD LA GRAVE made this speech: they represented to this Assembly, "that Wolves
"had increased in the Country during the
"War, and an unhappy experience, say they,
"has taught us, that the human species, and
"particularly Women and Children, are the
"prey of those ferocious beasts; which having
"once tasted their flesh, seem to give it a preference." It is to be observed, that Wolves never increase in the open Country, unless the number of Men diminish; and they cannot be diminished, but that the product of corn and cattle must be greatly decreased; many lands being left uncultivated, and many others less perfectly cultivated.

General DANICAN tells us, that in the West of France, more than twenty Towns, and eighteen hundred Villages and Hamlets, have been
burned;

burned(1); but if all this ruin could be instantly restored, and the tens of thousands of Farmers and Labourers who have perished, be recalled to life, the Agriculture of the Republic could not be of a long time regained; for that Officer elsewhere states, that in France, "the destruction of horses since the year 1792 may be fairly calculated at 400,000; this, (says he) has totally ruined our Agriculture(2)."

These are proofs that the distress in France for provisions and farming stock, must be much greater than at former periods. But that Kingdom never produced enough for its own consumption; and what was wanted more, was purchased by the price of the Manufactures with which it once abounded. The inequality of the produce of France to its consumption is proved by the famous Report made by JOHANNOT to the Convention, on December the 23d, 1794, in which he says, "it is an unhappy error to suppose that France is sufficient to itself, or that its soil produces all that is necessary for the wants of its inhabitants." And the Minister of the Day, in his speech on the Petition of the Chamber of Commerce at Bour-

(1) Memoirs, p. 209. An extent of more than one-sixth of the Kingdom of England.—(2) Ib. p. 167.

deaux, presented February 25, 1790, declares,
 “ that it is not by the favours of Providence,
 “ in *bappy barvests*, that the Subsistence of such
 “ a Kingdom as France can be assured.”

It is of consequence to the class of People to whom this part of the Tract is addressed, to shew how far France is able to maintain her own Inhabitants. There are only three modes by which a Nation can be supported: First, by the produce of its soil—this has been shewn to be insufficient; Second, by Foreign Trade, procuring returns in necessaries for Manufactures exported—but as to Foreign Trade, it has also been shewn, that France has none; and the third mode is, by the spoil and plunder of other Nations.

The plunder of the Countries they invade, is enjoined by the Directory itself, “ in the
 “ orders given to their Generals, that they
 “ should maintain their Troops by Victory.”
 The very words prove, that their Armies enter Foreign Countries unprovided with Magazines, or Money to purchase Provisions. “ They
 “ must, of necessity, subsist by plunder, and
 “ thereby compel those people into insurrec-
 “ tions who at first were not disposed to op-
 “ pose

" pose them (1)." The prodigal waste of provisions by an Army whose pay is Plunder, must greatly exceed its regular consumption : thus " Lombardy was exhausted by two successive " requisitions; and the particular extortions of " the Generals and Commissioners have completed the ruin of that fertile, and not long " before, flourishing Country (2)." Its " rich " plains (says Mr. A. YOUNG), so much of which " I saw covered with cattle, is now, for want of " mouths to eat the grass, converted into hay " for the use of the French Cavalry." And in their invasion of Germany, " they carried off " horses, oxen, sheep, cloth, hides, corn, in a " word, every thing necessary to the subsistence " of a people, and of which the People of " France were in want (3)." Thus the Inhabitants of the invaded Territory had not only to support the consumption and the prodigal waste of an Army of Invaders, who entered their Country without money, but most of the remainder of their cattle and corn, which could be seized, was sent into France to supply the necessities of that Country. But for Great Britain they declare that a severe vengeance is

(1) JOERSSON, p. 130.—(2) Campaign, 1796, p. 302.—

(3) JOERSSON, p. 75.

reserved : “ this Nation is by the Government
 “ of France held up to their Troops as the most
 “ odious and detestable existing (1);” and can
 you think, if ever they should be able to execute
 their threats (and what they have done where
 they had power, has always been hitherto much
 more than they have threatened) after they have
 eaten up, carried away, or destroyed, a large part
 of our provisions, that the necessities of life will
 not rise to such a price, that none of you will be
 able to afford to buy them? or, that if all that
 remained in the whole Kingdom were equally
 shared out to you by the head, thousands of you
 must not perish by Famine? But suppose the
 stock of cattle and corn will not be destroyed or
 carried off, as it has been in all other Countries
 by them, if they should succeed in their invasion,
 your former Masters will not be able to supply
 you with work, by which you may obtain a
 subsistence for yourselves or your families; for
 they are determined, and a kind of necessity
 obliges them, to reduce the Trading Capital of
 the Manufacturers of Britain to a level with their
 own, as has been fully proved before; and these
 Capitals in France are reduced almost to nothing.

(1) YOUNG'S National Danger, &c. p. 29.

Yet

Yet these are not all the miseries that your assistance to France will bring upon you : although you have lately thought fit to become bad Englishmen, you certainly have not flung away all the feelings of Men : think on what the fate of the Women of many of your families must be ; pay due attention to this short account of the entrance of the French Army into Lombardy.

MR. BUONAPARTE having in his Proclamation to his Army, " promised to his Soldiers " the Conquest of Rome and the Spoil of Italy, " anxious to see this last promise realized, " scarcely had his Troops entered Lombardy, " before they gave themselves up to Pillage, " Violence, and every species of disorder.— " Their rapacity, their contempt of religious " ceremonies, *and above all, their licentious conduct toward the Women*, exasperated the inhabitants to the highest pitch (1). " These ferocious Plunderers of a World seized every undefended Beauty as their own prey (2) ; and

(1) History of the Campaign, p. 248.—(2) YOUNG on National Defence, &c. p. 8.—" The Plunderers of the World " seize equally the living Venuses and the dead Apollos." To use the language of the Newspapers, " the possession " of our Girls and our Guineas," is the object held out to them by their Rulers.

K

where

where can Women find defence against a Conquering Army, composed of Troops who call every thing lawful which they desire, and their swords enable them to do? Will they not have reason to execrate that reputation which they enjoy throughout the World, (once their innocent pride, and which you dwell on with pleasure), that they are the most beautiful race of Women in Europe; if it only marks them out as the helpless victims of the brutality of lust that soon loaths and persecutes the miserable and distracted slave that it pollutes? destined perhaps to be a second time a victim, but to that passion which the lust of the violator generally is changed into, *his hatred*.

Do not think this description at all too strong: the French entered Lombardy proclaiming "Peace to the Cottage;" invited the inhabitants to the brotherhood(1), pretended to confer liberty upon them; and for the credulity of the Men, such were the sufferings of the Women of Lombardy. The lower classes rose to punish these crimes: both in the Cities and the Country, the armed criminals got the bet-

(1) " War to the Hall, and Peace to the Cottage."

Campaign, 1796, p. 187.

ter, and filled their extensive plains with massacres. And shall a man or woman here hope for a better fate, from a Conquering Army in this Country? a Nation to which France has always entertained hostile sentiments, and which is at this juncture "by its Government held up to their Troops as the most odious and most detestable existing."

You will say, perhaps, that the Conquerors will make a distinction between their friends and their enemies; and that they will rank you among the former: get rid of so dreadful an error. They have more enmity to you than to the party which opposes you and supports the State. The Deputations from the Societies in England assured them that their Party, which was the great majority of the People, were determined to change the Government, and that a close Alliance with France would follow it. The Convention was deceived into a belief of this, and passed their famous Decree in which they promised the Republicans of England their assistance. The terms of the Decree indeed were general, to those of all Nations; but the occasion and time of its being passed, shewed it had the particular application here made. This terminated in a War,

in which, with respect to us, France has been a great loser; and these losses she attributes to the Democratic Party having grossly deceived her, by not performing their promise in making a Revolution here.

The strength of her resentments against this Party will be measured by the calamities which the dependence on their engagements has brought upon her. The first is the annihilation of the Naval Power of France by our Captures and Victories at Sea; and the second, the loss of her West India Islands. That you may judge of the last, and of the dreadful situation in which a confidence in your promises has involved all France, I here give a part of the Petition of the Chamber of Commerce at Bourdeaux, presented to the Legislative Assembly February 25, 1790, on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, agitated in France as well as in England. The Petitioners inform the Assembly, that "five millions of Frenchmen
"subsist by the Commerce which the West
"India Colonies procure. They give to France
"an annual revenue of two hundred mil-
"lions (1); and a balance of payment of

(1) 8,333,333 l. sterling,

"eighty

“ eighty millions in our favour(1).” “ The
 “ amount of the Mortgages due to the Inhabi-
 “ tants of France on the Estates of the Colon-
 “ ists is four hundred millions(2); and the
 “ total ruin of the Empire must be the conse-
 “ quence of the Revolution in the Islands.”

When therefore your Party shall claim an ex-
 emption from the calamities inflicted upon the
 Country in general, France will reply to you,
 * Self-named Republicans, our belief of your
 † ostentatious, forward boast of the strength of
 † your Party, has been the cause of the only
 † losses we have experienced, and the internal
 † misery of our Country. Look upon our Navy,
 † destroyed by our confidence in the deceit you
 † put upon us; the Capital and the great mass
 † of national income we have lost by the con-
 † quest of our Colonies; and above all, five
 † millions of Frenchmen deprived thereby of
 † subsistence, and reduced to penury. To you
 † it is owing, that in the midst of glory we are
 † miserable; the spoils of your Country, as far
 † as they will go, must be applied to indemni-
 † fy us for the miseries in which your faithless-
 † ness has involved us; and be assured your

(1) 3,333,330l.—(2) 16,666,666l. sterling.

* quota

' quota shall be exacted to the utmost farthing.
 ' In former periods, though we ever consider-
 ' ed the People of England with hostile minds,
 ' still we held you in esteem and honour
 ' above all other Nations; and that esteem was
 ' open and avowed: your treachery, and what
 ' we suffer from it, have undeceived us; and our
 ' Troops are instructed to treat you as the most
 ' faithless part of "the most odious and de-
 ' testable of all Nations;" and in the general
 ' punishment, rely upon receiving the extreme
 ' of the proportion which shall fall to your par-
 ' ticular and individual shares.' Of this the
Republic has not only the pretext, but firmer
 ground; and if she had the most flimsy of
 pretexts only, you certainly know she would
 avail herself of it to the utmost extent (1).

But of deluders and deluded, I have now
 done with the whole party; and I resume my
 Address to those who wish well to the continu-

(1) Venice and Genoa were in an intermediate state be-
 tween Neutral Independent Powers and Provinces to France.
 That Republic, upon something less than a flimsy pretext,
 took an opportunity to convert even its ascendancy into
 almost direct dominion: the same spirit, it is evident, in
 their transactions with the DUKE of TUSCANY and the POPE,
 begins to operate.

ance

ance of the regular order of things. I shall here call their attention more particularly to the danger of Domestic Insurrections, although not without sometimes considering it as combined with a Foreign Invasion, which it will certainly draw on, whether we are in a state called a state of Peace or a state of War.

The crimes committed by every successful set of Conspirators have always exceeded those laid down in their original plan; because that is always drawn up before the moment of their victory, although there are some differences in the mode in which it appears, when the rage of the contest is recent, or of the insolence of victory, or when fear has given birth to unrelenting cruelty. When they act in separate bodies, the atrocities of each are copied by all the rest; and there are few crimes but what become soon universal. If the plot gets to a head in England, the whole plan laid down in Ireland will break forth in act here; and of the anticipating penetration of those who designed it, it must be observed, that it is greatly to be questioned, whether the lower Agents of the Revolution in France, and who ultimately established the worst form of tyranny it has undergone, and usurped the whole power in

in that Country, at first carried their views so far, or saw so distinctly where their operations must terminate.

If the Conspirators shall ever commence their operations, and of the contrary there is little hope, unless in the vigorous and armed union of the sounder part of Society, whoever shall be their apparent Leader during the first week of the Insurrection, the most ferocious and desperate member of it will be at the head of it the beginning of the second. How far the character of our common people, when broken loose from all restraint, is sanguinary, we have happily had no experience for some centuries. The populace of Paris, at the beginning of the Revolution, may be compared, with some advantage to themselves, with the Insurgents in the reign of RICHARD the Second: in a few hours the Members of the Protestant Association committed more ravages on the properties of individuals, than the populace of Paris did in so many weeks, when all effective controul over them had ceased.

The well-affected Inhabitants of this country are divisible into certain classes, according to the system of the plot which I have laid down;
there

there are some dangers common to all, others particular to each class. The most numerous of these, and of great respectability, are the Farmers of the Kingdom, in all ages the friends and supporters of regular and legal Government; and who by situation are less exposed to have their minds poisoned by either of the two vicious systems of political opinions, the despotic or anarchial. They are menaced with being compelled to bring forth and sell to the Insurgents and their families, corn and other provisions, at a price to be fixed by men of their own appointment. Thus the Farmer is not only compelled to part with his product, but even to produce what he is commanded. A Farmer in France was guillotined, "for pursuing his usual course of tillage, and taking up part of his ground with lucerne, instead of devoting the whole to wheat(1)," as he had been ordered. In the field of another, a high wind in harvest had blown some ears of corn into a pond: in the following spring, the blades were discovered growing on the edges of it, and he was guillotined on an accusation of having flung a large quantity of corn into the pit, in order to promote a scarcity(2).

(1) Lady's Residence in France, vol. 2, p. 100. Bl. B. p. 249.—(2) Ibid.

But the ruined state of Agriculture in France must ensure the destruction of the Farming Capital of England. It has been before mentioned, that from the year 1792 to the time when General DANICAN left France; the stock of Horses in that country has been diminished by 400,000. Let it be supposed that no addition has been made to this loss in the last year and a half, self-preservation will compel the French to make it up by requisitions of Horses here, even to be able to raise corn for themselves; and the whole number employed in Agriculture in England, has been estimated by Mr. A. YOUNG to amount to a million(1).

But it must be observed, that 400,000 Horses to be seized in England, will not be sufficient to make up this deficiency, and restore their almost annihilated Agriculture; upon account of the great loss of their numbers, which must attend their being transported to France by sea, and the scantiness of the provision which can be procured for them, both here and at their first arrival in that country. For this loss they will calculate in their demand of Horses, and increase it accordingly. For as they have pur-

(1) National Danger, &c. p. 16.

sued this mode of recruiting the national stock of Horses before, experience will direct them tolerably well as to the magnitude of the allowance to be made on this head. "The Horses seized by the Representatives in Brabant, in Holland, and wherever they went, were crowded together in places where they died by hundreds; some for want of hay, others from diseases produced by hunger (1)."—Traders and Merchants also are to be compelled to supply the Insurgents at rates to be fixed by their Revolutionary Committees, with whatever they shall be pleased to deem necessary; and men of every rank be liable to taxation by a Convention to be nominated by the Insurgents themselves; and the property of every man whose situation they shall think must naturally render him inimical to their plan, is to be *confiscated* (2), and themselves massacred.

It

(1) DANICAN'S Memoirs, p. 169.

(2) The punishment of all those "who will no doubt prove hostile to the cause of Liberty," that is, of all suspicious persons, nominally extended to Confiscation only. I shall give BACHETIER'S comment on this text of the Law, although it might better have found a place before. "All the rich were *suspected persons*; we were obliged to

• Report of Committee of Commons of Ireland, p. 20.

It has been shewn that Britain has to fear from her unnatural progeny, wounds as deep as those which Frenchmen, abandoning the feelings of their common nature as Men, have inflicted upon their Parent Country ; and besides, from the Foreign Enemy, in case they can effect a Descent, all that the embittered malignity of hostile vengeance can add to this. The crimes which have been perpetrated under the name of Liberty in France, it becomes highly interesting to all to know.

I shall here give a rapid sketch of some of them, and chiefly upon juridical evidence. It is known in general terms, that great enormities have been committed ; but general terms make feeble impressions. Enormity itself has its gradations and degrees, and one may almost be relatively innocent, compared to another.

" strike not only them who *did*, but them who *could do*
 " harm. However, VERY FEW PATRIOTS WERE SACRI-
 " FICED. We aimed principally at the former Nobility
 " and Clergy ; at those who hoarded up provisions, and
 " *all such as possessed great riches.*"

Bloody Buoy, p. 90, from Procès Criminel des, &c.
 Trial of the Members of the Revolutionary Committee at
 Nantes, and of the Representative CARRIER, vol. 3, p. 31.
 This Process will be afterwards quoted by the word *Trial*
 only.

That

That those which have been acted in France may produce the proper effect upon the mind, and kindle a due spirit of exertion to prevent a reign of such horrors here, they ought to be viewed in their full detail. Something of a more particular sketch shall be given of them here; but those who wish to know duly, must consult the authorities I have made use of. To a great part of the respectable classes to whom I am addressing myself, the particulars of this black series of crimes are almost unknown; their terrible character imposes upon me the manner in which they must be described: the most terrible of tragedies, guilt that overwhelms the mind with astonishment, which at no distance of time or place can be surveyed without terror, cannot be treated like an ordinary subject of historical narration of the lower or the middle tone: he who should so view it, is imperfect in one part of his nature, his moral passive powers; and such moral frigidity should be torn with indignation from the judgment-seat, if it should dare to think of placing itself there (1).

New names and forms of murder, of sweeping whole multitudes, sentenced or un-

(1) Bloody Buoy, p. 63. Com. Rep. v. 2, p. 186, et alibi.
tenced,

tenced, instantaneously from existence, have been invented, and put in practice almost without limit: The *Noyade* (1), executed by a new machine, the dreadful Drowning Boat: old men, pregnant women, and children, are crowded by hundreds in each, bound down to its bottom and deck; at its plugs being drawn out of the bottom and sides, as the water in-

(1) *Noyade*—General Drownings performed in boats with plugs in the bottom and sides, which are drawn out when the water is admitted to sink the machine: a boat will contain about 250 victims (CARRIER'S Trial, v. 3, p. 50). All the volumes of this Trial were not in the hand of the Writer here followed. One Witness (Trial, v. 3, p. 55), deposes to the drowning of 9000 persons in the City of Nantes alone. When CARRIER committed the plan of his machine to the Convention, he was applauded as the author of an invention which did honour to his Country (*La Conjuración de ROBESPIERRE*, p. 162). These drownings received the burlesque names of Water-parties, and Civic Baptisms. Forty women were precipitated from the top of the Cliff Pierre Moine, into the Sea (Trial, v. 5, p. 85). The dreadful Execution of the Countess of PERIGNAN and her three Daughters, exceeds this in barbarity. They were stripped, rubbed over with oil, and roasted alive in one of the Public Palaces in Paris—the Palace Dauphine. The agony and shrieks of her eldest daughter, of the age of 15, induced a bye-stander to shoot her. The others flung him into the flames; many, both men and women, underwent the same fate at the same place.—Bloody Buoy, p. 13. BARBUEL'S History of the French Clergy, p. 327.

creases

creases upon them(1), " shrieking in the
 " agonies of despair and death! oh! save us!
 " it is not now too late!" Six hundred chil-
 dren, the age which excites no fear, and can
 commit no crime, have perished together in
 one Noyade. The savages, in mockery of
 human misery, have found this a subject of
 burlesque science(2): what art thou! machines
 invented for the abridgment of the labour of
 murder. The waters of the Loire were poisoned
 with the thousands of putrid carcasses which
 they rolled along; and the air of the Country
 rendered pestilential by those it left upon its
 banks(3).

Multitudes were crowded together in a nar-
 row space, and swept off with volleys of mus-
 quetry or grape-shot; the wretches retaining
 more or less of life, were cut down by the sabre.
 To this dreadful scene Women were driven
 naked(4): the interesting tender spring of beauty
 and

(1) Lady's residence in France, p. 215, 216, 217.—
 Bloody Buoy, 257, and Ib. p. 79. Trial, v. 3, p. 38.—

(2) " Death occasioned *hydraulically*." General DAN-
 ICAN's Memoirs, p. 130, Translation.—(3) Trial, v. 3,
 p. 23 and 66. Lady's Letter, v. 2, 217 in the Bloody
 Buoy.—(4) Trial, v. 4, p. 256, and Memoirs of DANICAN,
 p. 18, Bloody Buoy.—These Executions were called *fuit-*

and innocence embraces the knees of the murderers in vain, and bathes their hands with their tears: it is in vain the satellites of dis-natured savageness feel themselves for an instant men, and mingle their tears with those of the victims whose blood they are going to shed(1). They hear the menaces of their Tyrants, and death is not robbed of his prey.—Some who have been dragged to this carnage, have had the terrors of death prolonged, while “they were compelled to dig the graves they were destined to fill(2):” “besides legions of Executioners, there were others of Assassins, the command of which was given to those Members of the Convention who were sent to different parts of the Country(3).”

Such have been the sufferings of the unprotected sex of Women, that they seem to have

sillades and *mitrallades*, respectively; and besides these, we read of *sabrades*, and *fourdoyades*, executions in mass by the sabre, and by cannonades, the guillotine. The number shot at Nantes has been attested by one evidence to amount to 7500 men*; and the total number of persons who lost their lives there, is estimated at 40,000†.

(1) DANICAN'S Memoirs, p. 78. Girls of 15 or 16, in Bloody Buoy.—(2) Memoirs of DANICAN, p. 231. Orders of BATTEUX, Commissary to CARRIER.—(3) Bloody Buoy, p. 34, from the Trial.

* Trial, v. 2, p. 253.—Bloody Buoy.—† Bloody Buoy, p. 117.

been

been the objects of a more infamous malignity than Men. The impious CONDORCET, who still retains his admirers here, proposed scourging those Women and Children who should attend the Masses of their former Ministers: three expired in one house under the rods of the Assassins(1). (A couple having refused to be married otherwise than by the rites of that religion they were educated in, the partizans of the Constitutional Priest broke into the house on the evening of the marriage; the husband fled, and the wife in a swoon became the prey of their brutal violations. They then tore off her breasts, threw them on the floor, and left her to die(2). In the black pages of this history, we see every crime that can arise from the junction of bloody savageness and lust. DUQUESNOY(3), attempting to violate Mothers whose Infants he has slain at their breasts. CARRIER satiated, and dismissing the miserable objects of his brutal passions to the guillotine(4). Five beautiful Frenchwomen, almost expiring under the outrages of a body

(1) Bloody Buoy, p. 197. From BARRUEL, p. 79.
 (2) Bloody Buoy, p. 207. From BARRUEL, p. 138.—(3).
 A General Officer, Bloody Buoy, p. 115.—Trial v. 2, p. 267.
 (4) A Commissioner of the Convention—Bloody Buoy, p. 40,
 Trial v. 1, p. 76.

of Negro Soldiers(1); the Monsters refusing to deliver up their prey to a detachment of French, in whom an account of their misery had excited a transient inclination to rescue them;—they return without rescuing them, and when they are at last set free, the dying wretches led to execution(2). Wives have been tied to the guillotine to see the death of their Husbands, and besprinkled with their blood(3), and Children with that of their Fathers(4)."

If we feel our nature violated by such atrocities, those to follow are of a higher degree, as violating not barely our common love to mankind, but her most sacred relations. Are we not struck with a horror almost new to human feeling, when we hear of GOULLIN, the first name in the Committee at Nantes, beating his Father on his death-bed with a stick, who expired in two hours(5), and avowing it before a Public Tribunal? Of O'SULLIVAN, who boasts of delivering up his brother to the guil-

(1) When the Decree of Emancipation of the Negroes passed, many of them enlisted; they were embodied together.—(2) Bloody Buoy, p. 50.—Trial, v. 5, p. 90. Bloody Buoy, p. 23.—(3) CRUAUTES à Lyons, p. 41.—(4) From BARRUEL, p. 211, Bloody Buoy, p. 6.—(5) Bloody Buoy, p. 113. Trial, v. 2, p. 281.

lotine, who, when death surrounded him on every side, flung himself into his arms for protection? The Younger GARNIER had been educated to the Church; his attachment to Christianity, his Religion, was his crime in the eyes of his accuser, and this accuser was his Father! "He seized him by the throat, led him to the Revolutionary Tribunal; he was instantly condemned; nor would the Father quit the Son until he saw his head severed from his body(1)." Moralists have observed, that History is little more than a record of the crimes and sufferings of Human Nature; but among the dreadful enormities which deform it, what I am going to relate, stands, I believe, hitherto unparalleled, and we may even hope it will stand so to the end of time. A wretch, a Parisian, of the name of PHILIP, a Member of the Jacobin Club, ascends the Tribune; he produces from a box, and holds up by their hoary hair, the bloody heads of his Father and Mother; which, says the Monster, "I have cut off, because they obstinately persisted in not hearing Mass from a Constitutional Priest." The Parricide received the loudest

(1) La Conjuraton de ROYAN, Paris, p. 162.—
Bloody Runy, p. 16.

applause: the heads were ordered to be interred in the upper end of the Club-room, under the Busts of ANKERSTROM and BRUTUS.

Yet this vile and atheistic race, polluted with these unnatural crimes, had received the education of Christians!—what is to be expected of the rising generation to be formed by them; their minds undisciplined by any rudiments of Religion and Morality? but that which is now the atrocity of multitudes, will become the character of a Nation.

Let us hear what DUPUIS, a Member of one of the Councils, said on this subject. Among the magnificent promises of the Authors of the Revolution, was a perfect system of Education: “Perfection ought to have been given to the ancient mode of Education—it is annihilated entirely. The times goes on, and already almost a whole generation has been robbed of all instruction.” A Committee was appointed to enquire into the complaint brought forward by DUPUIS: BARBE MARBOIS brought up their Report on the 29th of March; it was verified by additional “and almost shamefully afflicting proofs;” and on the reading it, DRULHE exclaimed, “What will become of

“ the

“ the Republic, if there be nothing but a con-
 “ temptible Populace, ignorant and corrupted,
 “ to succeed *its enlightened and virtuous*
 “ *Founders* (1) ?” And notwithstanding the
 rankness of its soil, happy would it have been
 for the Youth of France, if their crimes had
 been left to vegetate naturally, without the
 assistance of art. A Child of ten years of age
 was recompensed for accusing its Mother at
 the Revolutionary Tribunal for attachment to
 the Roman Religion; and probably her last
 affectionate anxious prayer was uttered, her
 last fears hung upon, and her last foreboding,
 forgiving, maternal tear, fell for the little mis-
 creant that destroyed her (2).

There is a battalion of young children formed
 at Rennes, and DUBOIS CRANCE started this
 idea, that it should be employed to shoot the
 Chouans, in order, as he said, “ to accustom
 “ youths to republican firmness.”

People of Great Britain! such have been the
 crimes and miseries of France, and in which
 it has been recently discovered, that Ireland

(1) D'IVERNOIS Hist. des Finances, 1796, p. 197, 198.—

(2) CROAUTES dans les Lyonnais, p. 161. Bloody Buoy,
 p. 28.

was so nearly involved ; and which an atrocious band of Conspirators at home are preparing for you. Can you passively sit still, until you and yours shall be involved in the ruin and slaughter of arbitrary taxation, requisitions and confiscations ? for it is to the last, as has been shewn, that this Plot exposes you. All that the active intelligent industry of a life has measured for yourselves ; all that the frugality, all that the affection of a Father shall have hoarded with the anxiety and care of a whole life for his Children, torn from them for ever ; and as he shall hear the walls of the house which once was his, resound with the drunken prodigal revelry, the riot, the debauch of his plunderers, and his last look shall hang upon it, he must lead them forth to the World, to them a desert, with no hope for them but of a life the most miserable, and grinding poverty, and labour, and scorn, perhaps to see them perish by hunger, to see the last tear fall from their eyes for that bread of life which rapine has torn from them, and which prodigal wasteful villainy destroys, not uses.

But this is not the worst—a general proscription of all Men of Property is a part of this atrocious Plot : Think of all the terrors of a
 Massacre,

Massacre, when murder and lust shall have forced the feeble defences of the house; the pike of the murderer rivetting you to that spot of earth from which you shall never rise! and reeking from the slaughter, to see the bloody hand of ruffian abhorred violation twisted in the hair of a Wife, a Sister, a Daughter, in the first opening, elegant, interesting spring of beauty: to see them dragged away along the floor; to hear their wild shrieks of terror, when they are borne away, and you shall never see them more! and feel mixed with the pains of death, the most maddening torture of rage that man can feel. These bitter extremities must be the lot of numbers; all are exposed to them, by the success of these enemies of human-kind.

If your properties, your lives, be dear to you, in the name of every thing innocent, beloved, defenceless, you call your own; in so near a hazard of such ruin, unite yourselves for their protection; associate to arm. Much it is to be wished, that some good plan of a National Association, in defence of our properties, families and lives, were laid down, which should be entitled to general approbation. Its object to be a wise, a determined, and connected system

tem of defence, which should give to Legal Government the firmest tone of legal vigour; without one thought of vengeance on the deluded.

Some further consideration must be brought forward upon this subject: I therefore go on to consider the necessity of the measure, on two suppositions; first, that the War continues; and second, that it terminates speedily by a Peace.

It has been said before, that an Insurrection of the Jacobins will draw on an Invasion, or an Invasion produce such an Insurrection; and whichever of them takes place first, will either operate as a cover to the other, in the same part of the Kingdom, or a diversion in favour of its taking place in some other quarter. If such an attack should be made in the present unarmed state of Men of Property, while the Invaders keep your whole forces in play in one part of the Kingdom, all adequate protection must be withdrawn from all the rest; and I do not see what you can oppose to the Insurgents. Nor, on the other hand, if an Insurrection shall have concentrated the better part of your force in one district, how an Enemy is to be repelled
who

who shall have effected a descent in force on the coast of another (1). If an attack so dangerously combined should succeed, your loss must, to you, be infinite, for it must be that of your all. This combination appears to me to be irresistible; but it is certain, that either of the attacks, in the present state of things, might be opposed and vanquished with much less than half the damage which must result from their union.

The probability of the attack, whose success will be attended with the greater danger, ought to be provided against by the stronger exertions and the more decisive means: Men ought to make the greater sacrifices to guard adequately against it. This may be illustrated in a manner which is, unfortunately for this Nation, much too familiar to us. If a man was exposed to lose six thousand pounds on turning up a certain face of a die, as for instance, the ace, he would give a thousand pounds, and no more, to be free from the hazard; but if his loss would be twelve or fifteen thousand

(1) I will not state a positive apprehension of the fidelity of the Navy, but I must observe, that in our measures, we ought not so to calculate, as if a new Mutiny could not break out at a most dangerous juncture.

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pounds,

pounds, he would lose nothing by giving double that sum, or more, to be freed from such a ruinous obligation.

Again, this terrible catastrophe does not depend upon the chance of an Insurrection alone, or of an Invasion alone, but on the chance for either of the two taking place; for each has its separate chance, and will produce the other: and to exemplify this case in the same manner as the former, Society is in the state of a wretch who kneels bound before the executioner, whose hand is upon his scimitar, ready to unsheath it, while his death depends upon the turn up of a die, with two bloody faces.

This War has not yet produced an example of the mode in which France would treat a Country for whom she declares her severest vengeance reserved. But it will appear that this danger thereof will not be too highly estimated, if we suppose its severity to be the same as that with which she has treated other Countries. Consider the devastation of Flanders, which they entered with declarations of benevolence and fraternity: many of the crimes which had laid waste their own Country were there repeated: to plunder those unhappy Provinces

vinces of their gold and silver, was the declared object of the French Minister (1). Many of the Inhabitants were carried prisoners to the Fortresses on the borders, and detained there until they had paid an exorbitant ransom.

Look at their conduct to the KING of SARDINIA, after their Treaty with him, guaranteed both by the public faith, to which their audacious hypocrisy makes such loud pretensions, and the rights of misfortune. They are now "arming against the unhappy Prince, Conspirators and Rebels (2);" exciting tumults in the country round, and plots in his very Capital (3); and they talk familiarly of "ordering the KING of SARDINIA to the bar (4)."

Holland had never provoked that denunciation of the wrath of the Republic fulminated against England: the effects therefore which the Dutch had reasonably to expect from the success of its arms, were less terrible; yet they had a dreadful example before them, in the fraternization of the Imperial Provinces of the Netherlands; and there is little doubt, that the

(1) DUMOURIEZ.—(2) MALLET DU PAN, Letter to a Minister, p. 50.—(3) *Ib.* p. 23.—(4) JOHNSON, p. 115.

majority of the Men of Property in Holland had a distinct view of the evils of a French Conquest. ADAM SMITH has observed, that every man has a confidence in his own good fortune : the most probable evils they must, they shall escape ; the romance of their wishes they depend upon finding realized to them. Nations have the same blindness. In many individuals a mortal distemper has made a considerable progress, before they think themselves in danger ; and the period of rational hope is suffered to pass, before they have recourse to a remedy. The confidence that their period of dissolution is not yet arrived, is generally entertained by States on the point of subversion ; and no preparations adequate to the danger are made in time to ward it off. This is particularly true of Nations who are far advanced in that peculiar corruption which arises from a long respite of military danger ; beside, the exclusive pursuit of any object ultimately corrupts the character of a Nation : the Romans were a moral people ; their exclusive passion for Conquest corrupted and destroyed them. The exclusive pursuit of Commerce has the same effects ; and the reason of this in both cases is plain. It is only one certain set of the energies of the human character that are exercised

exercised when a whole Nation gives itself up to a single pursuit. They gain habit, and exercise a distempered vigour, while the other, from the contrary circumstance, dwindle and become effete; and thus the moral balance of the public mind, forming the National Character, is destroyed in the great majority of the people. The object of Commerce is the gratification of self-interest: a people exclusively commercial, becomes a Nation of Egotists. The spirit of their pursuits is Competition, not Junction; the interests they pursue are private, not public. Hence the public spirit becomes effete and languid. Self-interest becomes the passion which swallows up all the rest; or the exclusive care and the fear for a man's self; and this self-interest is not of the enlightened and rational kind, but the passion is in a distempered state, bloated into a diseased magnitude, and thence heavy and inactive; and to this state the exclusive pursuits of Commerce had reduced the noble public spirit which animated Holland a century and a half ago.

Here also let it be observed, that the spirit of a Nation may be commercial in too great a degree as well as exclusively so. The progress of this corruption will then be slower, but the dispro-

disproportion is never without its danger ; and that spirit has certainly acquired in this Kingdom a degree of strength by no means favourable to the National Character. Periods in the existence of a Nation have their different characters ; each of them calls for its particular set of virtues and habits of mind ; and the present calls for virtues and energies to which we have not been practically educated, or rather, such as disuse has deprived of something of their natural strength.

But in Holland, the degeneracy of self-interest had weakened the National Character to an extreme degree : the spirit of defence, raised in the upper class, was inadequate to the new danger from the principles and invasion of France, which was not to be subdued by the old modes of resistance. The spirit of their soldiery had expired before their Naval Wars with England : that of their Marine did not survive them long. But had the same general spirit animated the whole people as when they advanced to the succour of Leyden, or were finally victors under Prince MAURICE, the over-running all Holland would not have been the work of a few weeks, nor the gates of every Town have been opened as soon as the French appeared before them.

It

It will be said, 'that in the last century they were fighting in the cause of Liberty; but in this war they had not that animating principle to support their efforts.' But if History be examined, it will be found that the quantity of Liberty they had to defend, and to inspire them to its defence, was as great in the latter period as in the former; long before which, the Spanish ideas of domination had been very much reduced by the robberies that Nation had suffered. If they had chosen to capitulate, they had no longer to fear the tyranny of the Duke of ALVA: the quantity of Freedom which would have remained to them, would have somewhat exceeded that of the late Austrian Netherlands.

It was solely for that difference in the liberty of their Constitution, that the Dutch supported so many years of War then; but it must have been apparent beforehand, to the men of property and information, that the quantity of Freedom they must lose by the late Conquest, was indefinitely greater than that difference they so gloriously contended for. There are degrees even in bloody and ferocious tyranny; and deservedly infamous as his memory is, they know that even TOLEDO would

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be disgraced by a comparison with ROSS PIERRE; and the soldiers of Philip, with *his* abandoned assassins. They saw the total ruin before them, and had not the spirit to take the measures necessary to resist it. Every man of property in Holland, would without doubt have been glad of continuing his inaction, under the armed protection of all the rest; but there were none who would do more to defend him in it than he would himself: the effort would have been a voluntary tax upon all; but it was a tax each man was willing all the rest should pay, if he could continue excused. They confided therefore to the ordinary exertions of Government what Government was unequal to; and sat still while they saw operations that would have been inadequate at best, traversed by self-designed Despots, and the pioneers that smooth all obstacles in their road to Despotism, the fanatics of Liberty; and thus ruin overwhelmed them all. A supine indolence, with respect to your great stake and interest, if it be the same, will produce the same effect; but remember that your fall is from a nobler height, and you will be precipitated into a perdition still deeper.

But

But the idea then entertained in Holland, and too frequently entertained here, that we may safely trust our fate to the exertions of Government, without giving our personal aid to them, deserves a fuller consideration : During almost a century and a half, Men of Property in this Country have been adequately protected (with some transitory interruptions) in Peace and War, by the sole operations of the Executive Government. Hence they have long ceased to repose any of their confidence where Nature meant to place much of their security, in all states of Society, even in that of refinement, their personal exertions. They expect to derive entire security from Government ; but the old forms of Government in Europe are not constructed to bring forth the whole force of a People, but only a limited part of it ; and a power may be organized in one Nation to enable it to effect the former, or bring forward its whole physical strength ; and if such a State should attack another, which refuses to exceed its accustomed degree of exertion, the latter must perish in the contest. The inequality is as great or greater, than that of a battle between two Nations, one of which possess fire arms, while the other is totally destitute of them. When new modes

of attack are invented one on side, they must be copied by the other, or it must perish.

An old Government therefore cannot stand against the new organization, without a change, which shall either add indefinitely to the strength of the Executive Power, or Associations of the People for General Defence, and in aid of its ordinary military power. The former is destructive of Liberty: the latter, under due modifications, its brightest ornament and defence.

Hitherto our actual insecurity has been solely considered, but the very appearance and suspicion of insecurity may have very bad consequences, which may even call into existence the evils which would not otherwise have taken place; especially in Commercial States, abounding in paper currency. This hangs upon opinion, and when that is withdrawn, it falls; an incident which would infallibly be the signal of the Insurrection described above. I might have given the reasoning, to follow in the ordinary manner; but having evidence almost juridical for the point I contend for, I shall make use of that. Apparent weakness pre-disposes to fear: threats of invasion, and apprehension

sion of insurrection, augment it indefinitely,
 “ and the longer the minds of the people brood
 “ over the evil they are apprehensive of, the
 “ more their fears increase, and the more likely
 “ they are to provide themselves with what
 “ they think the best means of securing them-
 “ selves against the evils they may apprehend,
 “ that is, general bankruptcy (1).” The most
 timid will collect Coin for flight, or to bury it
 on the breaking out of the supposed danger;
 “ alarm of invasion will occasion demands for
 “ Guineas in many places (2):”—“ The farmers
 “ will suddenly bring the produce of their lands
 “ to sale, and carry the notes they procure by these
 “ means to the Bank for payment (3).” Thus,
 “ a great deal of the Specie will be concealed
 “ and locked up (4):” “ If only a few persons
 “ of timid minds choose to invest a large por-
 “ tion of their property in Guineas, instead of
 “ using them merely as that means of circula-
 “ tion for which they were intended to serve, the
 “ effect will be considerable (5);” and the pro-

(1) Minutes of the Lords' Committee on the stoppage of Payment at the Bank, p. 39.—(2) Evidence of G. ELLISON, Esq.—(3) Evidence of H. THORNTON, Esq. ib. p. 76.—(4) Commons' Third Report on ditto, p. 5. Ib. Evidence of Mr. BOSANQUET, p. 29. Mr. ELLISON, p. 121.—(5) Minutes of the Lords; Evidence of HENRY THORNTON, Esq. p. 71.

portion of Specie to Paper will be much diminished. But when a sense of insecurity depresses every man's mind, an Enemy has only to play upon this terror with a well-arranged feint, or series of feints, to increase it into panic. More and more Coin becomes hoarded, and all proportion between that and Paper vanishes, and the credit of the latter with it.—It is evident, that if the holder of a Note of 100l. shall believe, that before the end of a certain time, there is an even chance that a victorious Enemy will destroy paper credit, he must calculate the true value of the Note, if not paid off before the end of the term, to be 50l. only; and therefore make all the haste in his power to convert it into cash, the value of which will not be susceptible of diminution in any case.

Public Security and Public Credit “ must
 “ sicken and revive, live or die together; and
 “ to the latter the credit of every individual,
 “ the circulating value of every the least portion
 “ of his property, is indissolubly attached by
 “ the Existing circumstances of things: on
 “ this the selling value of the entire property
 “ of the man of the most frigidly degenerate
 “ indifference to the public weal, rests as its
 “ sole

"sole basis (1)." If the class of men of some property shall neglect whatever may restore the sense of this security, their folly will resemble that of a Farmer, who, having a fertile tract of soil to cultivate, manures it highly; is at great expence for the best labourers, machines, and seed, combines all his operations in the most skilful manner, but will not give an hour of his time, or a shilling of his capital, to afford his field the protection of a Fence round it.

The only remedy to danger from the source here considered is the most perfect restoration both of security and the appearance of security; that can be obtained; a force ready every where to repress insurrection whenever it may break out; and even if favoured by the landing of a Foreign Enemy, to keep it under in every quarter of which he has not the military occupation, and spare a great strength to co-operate with the regular Troops acting against him. And this security, and the appearance hereof, can be obtained only by a General Association of Defence, of the well-affected Men of Property.

(1) BRAND on the Funds, p. 67.

In such an Association, the line between the well and ill-affected should be steadily drawn, and none of the latter description admitted.—It might once have been thought, that this might have been secured by a very simple test; a Declaration to be made by each Associator that he will support the present Government of the Kingdom as by Law established; and that in the existing state of things, it would be extremely dangerous to attempt any alteration of the Constitution of the Commons House. But the new political morality has shaken the foundation of the confidence of Man in Man: it has corrupted the faith once reposed in the most formal and solemn declarations. A new and a dazzling flood of splendour has not only been poured upon political science; ethics have been likewise illuminated by a broad and glowing mass of light: the Right Honourable Mr. Fox, a new Sun in our Firmament,

“ ——— whose glorious lamp is seen,

Regent of day———

———Whither as to their fountain lesser stars

Repairing, in their golden arms draw light(1);”

and whose Mind gives lustre to every Science on which it glances; after gilding Politics with

(1) MILTON.

the

the better half of the new radiance it has received, has dispelled the fog that clouded over Morality, and shed new glories around her.—The periodical publications state him to have, by encouragement, by example, and in act, taught men that they might subscribe to principles to which they could not give their approbation (1).

From

(1) Mr. Fox, in the Debates of the Commons, Dec. 17, 1792, is said in DEBARTT's Parliamentary Register, to have "expressed his doubts of the legality of the Associations and Subscriptions for Criminal Prosecutions" of illegal Meetings and Writings calculated to seduce people from their allegiance. He is also there stated to have declared, that they "were at present made the instrument of tyranny over men's minds, almost as bad as the Clubs in France." I know, from an authority which an order of the Court of Chancery hinders me from quoting, that this Speech of Mr. Fox is garbled; and *his stronger declarations omitted*; I therefore conclude those retained to be *softened*; probably to make his declaration of the 17th of December seemingly less diametrically opposite to his act and subscription on the 18th, the day following. He also is said to have then advised his partizans of the lower order, to sign these Associations, even "*if they should think them* 'IDLE'." It is on the same authority, and by the same mode of argument, that I conclude the terms of this advice also to be abridged and *softened*; beside, it is evident, by

* Ib. p. 164. This passage is robbed of much of its force, from the suppression of matter which I conceive ought to have preceded it.

Mr.

From this lax morality, which has too many followers in practice, arises the necessity of using

Mr. DUNDAS's Answer to this Speech, printed in the same Register, that he understood him to have advised persons to "sign papers of which they disapproved." I must say on the authority I have referred to, but not quoted, that so far he advanced. But I add the whole of the remarks which the Compiler of the Register asserts Mr. DUNDAS to have made on this new principle of Mr. Fox: "according to this doctrine a Magistrate may think
 " himself sure of the support of a great number of persons,
 " who, when occasion calls, would refuse to aid him, and
 " much mischief might ensue. Men who signed papers of
 " which they disapproved, might soon learn to swear what
 " they did not believe; and the signatures of Traitors might
 " appear among those of good Citizens*."

I proceed now to the act of Mr. Fox of the next day: his subscription to the Association of the Parish of St. George's, in Westminster. In the House he had declared his doubt of the legality of the subscription, *as far forth as their object was the prosecution of illegal Meetings and Writings calculated to seduce people from their allegiance*; and had described them as instruments of tyranny over men's minds.

The terms of an Association are always in the plural number; but each individual subscribes for himself individually and singularly; therefore the engagement of an individual, is legitimately to be stated in the singular number. With this minute change I shall give part of that of Mr. Fox.

" I hold myself bound in duty and gratitude, at all
 " times to assist in endeavouring to support and maintain

* Register, Debate Dec. 17.

" the

using a salutary jealousy, that ill-affected persons should not be received into the Association ;

" the Constitution." I now think myself particularly called upon by the peculiar and critical situation of the times, to declare that I will* contribute every assistance in my power " to discountenance all illegal Meetings, and all seditions and inflammatory Writings, calculated to mislead and seduce the People from their allegiance, and render them blind to their true interest."

The whole of this Association, with the signature of Mr. Fox, is published in the New Annual Register of 1792, (Public Papers, p. 83) ; and this of the 18th of December is declaratory of the true purport of the advice he had given in the House on the 17th. He subscribes his name to a measure, of the legality of which he not only states himself to doubt, but which he declares to be actually made the worst of uses of, as " the instruments of tyranny over men's minds, almost as bad as the Clubs in France." If it should be admitted that there is nothing suppressed in the account of the Debate, and that Mr. DUNDAS assumed the fact that Mr. Fox intended to convey to his partizans something more than the literal meaning of the terms he made use of, and censured the principle he thought he intended to convey, as every Leader of a Party, as such, must mean his own political example should be copied by his followers, the assumption of Mr. DUNDAS was just.

Mr. Fox may have made this declaration followed up by his act, deliberately or not ; I have no solicitude to esta-

* The words omitted are these, " that we will all and each of us in our respective stations, collectively and individually, contribute," &c. The Association had also another object ; but as Mr. Fox never declared against that in Parliament, it does not signify specifying it.

tion; and, in confirmation of this, I shall borrow an argument from Mr. DUNDAS, with a little change in its terms. By the indiscriminate admission of all men into this body, ' the ' Friends of their Country may think themselves sure of the support of a great number ' of persons, who, when occasion calls, would ' refuse to aid them, and Traitors be mixed ' in the ranks with good Citizens(1).'

It is a doctrine which never has been denied by either party, that an attack which threatens universal ruin should be opposed by the united force of the whole Society; and if it must be done, it ought to be done in a proper manner. But so great a measure cannot take place on the spur of the occasion. The moment of universal trepidation, and fear, and clamour, and rashness, and confusion, and alarm, is not that for arranging and giving system to a great and general plan, in a Nation where the indi-

blish the former, but the latter shews a want of self-possession, a precipitation that men would not expect in the Leader of a Party, which, if he were in power, must either break it up, or involve them in the most embarrassing responsibilities.

(1) See part of the Speech of Mr. DUNDAS, in the last Note.

viduals

viduals have lost all military habits, and have little military knowledge. Such a plan must be laid in an hour undisturbed by fear, and carried into execution when no apprehension, no panic, shall defeat what is well designed; and to this must be added, that even some knowledge of military discipline, which is not to be acquired when bodies of men are called into action as soon as formed, is requisite to make those whose rudiments and composition are of the most excellent form, at all effective. Hence arises an absolute necessity of forming all Associations for Military Defence a due time before their action will be required; and as soon as the necessity of it shall have obtained a given degree of probability, and appears to have arrived at a certain degree of nearness; and the nearness and probability of a catastrophe similar to that in which we every day see State after State involved, call upon us to put the measure instantly into execution.

To all this it will be replied, that ‘ such is
 ‘ the change which has recently taken place in
 ‘ the spirits of the Councils of republican
 ‘ France, that the Negotiations now carrying
 ‘ on may be expected to produce a Peace; and
 ‘ the necessity of an Armed Association will

‘ then be annihilated. We shall not have to
 ‘ fear the junction of a Foreign Invasion with a
 ‘ Domestic Insurrection; and the ordinary
 ‘ force and vigilance of Government in such
 ‘ times, will be able to suppress its eruption,
 ‘ until its spirit shall wither away and die of it-
 ‘ self.’ To this objection a reply is necessary.

It is first to be remarked, that the consider-
 ation that we are entering into Negotiations
 for a Peace, is an argument for the immediate
 expedience of this measure : the greater our
 available force against Invasion shall appear to
 the Enemy to be, with the more weight we
 shall negotiate : they will tacitly calculate the
 force of this preparation, and give full weight
 to it in the terms of the Treaty,

Beside, if after the Peace our internal danger
 should appear greater than is stated in this ob-
 jection, the attempt to increase our standing
 force may involve us in a new war. France
 laying down her arms, which have been so suc-
 cessful on the Continent, will not lay aside the
 dictatorial tone which her Government assumes
 in its transactions with all Nations. It certainly
 must be deferring the measure of general arm-
 ing too long, to wait until a formidable Insur-
 rection

rection shall actually break out ; and when nothing more than menacing symptoms shall induce us to embrace it, the Republic will treat this measure as a pretence to raise a force for internal security, while we detach the regular Army to invade her Foreign Possessions ; and we shall be ordered to desist, or a new war will be proclaimed against us. Therefore, our being in a state of Negotiation, as far as it has any effect on the present question, is an argument for the utility of the plan recommended.

Let us now suppose that a Peace is really on the point of being concluded : in this case, after it has taken place, the Republic must either retain her present ascendancy in Europe, or must decline from it.

It is material to consider the subjects under each of these points of view separately.

Regard the fatal effects which her ascendancy has produced in those States within her reach, with which she has been at peace ; and which have courted her friendship with unlimited sacrifices. Look at Genoa, always partial to the cause of the Republic : her Constitution is overturned, and the reign of anarchy and terror intro-

introduced in its stead. Look at the Republic of Venice, which, awed by her successes, acted rather as an Ally than as a Neutral Power in the Italian War: a Republic which formerly had baffled the arms of all the Powers of Europe united against her. Yet the subversion of that antient and powerful State was the work of a few days only. The pestilential principles of Equality, so flattering to the pride and the envy of the Commonalty, prepare multitudes of Conspirators every where in favour of the Republic: to prepare her way, she sends her Agitators and Organizers to increase their numbers, and give them order and union. Her victorious hordes are pushed forward to the frontiers, and a new ruin blots another Nation out of the lists of Civil Societies. The fall of Venice is an example which ought to be peculiarly instructive to us. That State always had been famous for its vigilance and jealousy, and for a Constitution which seemed formed to exempt her from all danger of Conspiracies to arise from the propagation of principles hostile to it. Yet that State, whose internal security seemed far better established than any other, is recently destroyed. To say that we are safer, because the absolute mass of our defensive power is greater, is a miserable mode of reasoning.

ing. Safety does not at all depend on the quantity of defensive power, but on its proportion to that by which we are attacked; and before the calamity which has overwhelmed that State, estimating its security by this rule, it seemed considerably superior to our own.

The immense sacrifices extorted from the KING of SARDINIA, the price of Peace, and his ransom from ruin, have not contributed to his safety, nor protected him from a kind of hostilities which will probably prove as fatal to him as open war. In every corner of his Kingdom France makes attacks upon him by her Emissaries, and prepares to divest him of his remaining possessions. By her Treaties, she takes under her protection the Incendiaries of every State (1); assumes to become Arbitrator between every Prince and his Subjects; and thus constitutes in the bosom of each, the revolutionary power which is to destroy it: her Ambassadors arrive only to direct and superintend its operation; to be the centre of all its movements, and to ensure their final success;

(1) In the Treaties which she has hitherto made, one article is, that men imprisoned for their opinions shall be set at liberty.—YOUNG'S *National Danger*, &c. p. 39.

and

and the Cabinet of the Republic, assumes the functions of a Committee of Insurrection for all Nations (1). Such are the effects of the ascendancy of France in those States with which she is at peace; and this system of policy the Republic will pursue here, with all her intrigues and energy; and with infinitely more solicitude, on account of the greater consequence which must follow her success (2).

I now

(1) YOUNG'S *National Danger*, &c. p. 39. See also MALLET DU PAN'S Letter to a Minister, p. 44, 45.—Longman, 1797.

(2) France considers herself as standing in the same relation to England as Rome stood to Carthage; and if the Republic, as Victor, prescribes the terms of Peace to us, it will pursue the same line of policy. The War of HANNIBAL had greatly deranged the Finances of Carthage, and given birth to confusion and abuses, to which those who profited by them were attached after the Peace. HANNIBAL was nominated to the direction of the Civil Department of the State, by which the fiscal administration was submitted to his inspection. His genius for these details was not inferior to his military fame: he rescued the Finances of Carthage from their chaotic state, and raised the receipt of the Treasury above the expenditure. The set of men whose interest was affected, denounced his proceedings in the Senate of Rome, who demanded his execution—he fled: it was this, and not his invasion of Italy, which determined the Romans to make war on any Power who should give him an asylum. If France continue in the possession

I now come to examine what degree of security we may expect to enjoy, if the Republic of France shall retain none of its present ascendancy over the other Nations of Europe after the conclusion of the Peace.

Even Peace itself, if in appearance it may diminish our danger from abroad, must in certain respects much increase that of Domestic Insurrection; for let us consider the force that we have now on foot, and the number of Soldiers and Sailors who will be then discharged: their habits of labour being impaired, their places perhaps at the plough and in the loom filled up, their distress will be very great for the first two or three years of the Peace: this has been the case at the end of almost every War, but at the conclusion of the present their difficulties will be attended with greater danger to the State, from the circumstances which

possession of her ascendancy after a Peace, a policy like this will actuate her movements: she will likewise consider any measures to accelerate the term of our temporary embarrassments, as the most hostile movements which can be made against her; and whatever shall tend to depress her relative superiority, that Power will never want motives to oppose, how unjust soever it may be; or perhaps she will not condescend to seek for a veil to disguise them.

have

have taken place in the course of it. Justice and Policy in conjunction have required, that our Forces should have some increase of pay; hence their situation has been more comfortable to them, and the indulgence they have been able to command has been greater than during the course of some late wars, though not more than equal to what they enjoyed in the beginning of this century, or the end of the last, when the value of their pay, estimated in commodities, was duly proportioned to the trust reposed in them, and the necessities of the class of society from which they are selected.

It is from this more comfortable state that they will be discharged; and the distress it will at first produce to them will be more severely felt than after some late wars, as the difference of their situation produced thereby will be greater. This will be the source of much discontent and murmuring amongst them, and our anarchists will not fail to inflame this spirit, and endeavour to seduce them into their party. There are some circumstances which seem to favour their attempt: there are too many men both in the Navy and Army who regard the augmentation of their pay as derived rather from a knowledge of their ability to support their demand, than from its justice. This gives
their

their pride an over-weening confidence in their own strength, and the most unreasonable expectations. This is demonstrated by the continuance of the Mutiny in the Navy, now breaking out in one division, and now in another; and when their arts shall be no longer counteracted by the vigilant circumspection and authority of their Superior Officers, the leading Conspirators of Britain will exert all their art to gain the disbanded Military, or a very large part of them, to assist them in their atrocious schemes; expecting in the Petty Officers to find proper ladders of insurrection, and in the Privates almost a disciplined Army. I here consider France as not promoting by her intrigues those of the Democratic Faction.

However, it has been clearly proved before, that the faith of no Treaty will be sufficient to secure the inaction of the Republic in such a tempting situation: the Conspirators will receive every private assistance which that Power can give them; and every preparation will be made in France, as far as the concealment necessary to the success of the Plot will permit, to give them open aid, and when they shall come into action; nor at such a juncture will that State omit to make use of the Conspi-

rators to execute that vengeance they themselves declare that they meditate against this Country; in which their deluded auxiliaries will not be the least, or perhaps the last sufferers.

Peace therefore, if it should be admitted to decrease this danger from abroad, certainly will not weaken, but considerably increase the force of the Conspiracy at home. Peace, therefore, holds forth no reason against the Association here recommended.

Other arguments may be brought to evince the necessity of an Armed Association of People of Property in Peace; and among them, that which is drawn from what may be called the Natural History of the Spirit of Levelling or of Equality deserves particular consideration. History records various eruptions of this spirit, which, after it has been dormant two or three centuries, generally breaks out anew; and after convulsing one Kingdom, and perhaps becoming extinct there, it breaks out in a second, spreads death and calamity for a season, and having exhausted itself again, it re-appears after a very few years in a third.—Thus, during the Reign of the Third Ed-

WARD,

WARD, the Insurrection of the *Jacquiers* (1) took place in France, which, in its principles and initial circumstances, has the most striking resemblance to that of the Jacobins, though not in its event. Scarcely was this evil seemingly extinct in France, when it broke out again in the Low Countries; the City of Ghent was the centre of this new eruption. The communication of England with France and Flanders was then very great: the seeds of this moral pestilence were brought over from those Countries hither; in a few years they had corrupted the minds of the lower order of the people of England; and, in the Minority of RICHARD the Second, successor to EDWARD, the dreadful Insurrection of WAT TYLER broke out. The account of this Conspiracy, as given by FROISSART, affords, at this juncture, the most valuable lesson to Mankind, and never did the Mirror of History present to an existing generation a more faithful picture of its situation and its danger. A few of the greater lines of it only can be given here. When the Insurrection broke out, "no Country was ever in a

(1) Their principles were the same as that of the Jacobins of this day: the term Jacobin is derived from the Latin, and signifies *a man of the fraternity of James*. The word *Jacquier* has the same sense in French,

"happier

"happier situation than England, and the
 "lower people enjoyed ease and abundance(1):"
 the levelling doctrines of JOHN BALL, although
 first disseminated in the Villages, were greedily
 embraced by many of the inhabitants of the
 greater Towns and Cities: thus we see the in-
 habitants of Canterbury(2) were almost uni-
 versal Jacquiers(3). This party was also very
 numerous at Rochester(4). At London, their
 numbers considerably exceeded 30,000: men
 of great property were engaged in the Con-
 spiracy, and among them three of the twelve
 Aldermen(5); so that it may be estimated
 that nearly a quarter of the Citizens of Pro-
 perty had embraced Mr. BALL's doctrines of
 the Rights of Man. Thus London was the
 centre of this Plot; there the assemblies were
 held, measures concerted, the time of Insur-
 rection fixed, and the insurgents of the Coun-
 try invited thither, with the promise of having
 the City delivered to them, and of obtaining

(1) Grande aisé et graissé, vol. 2, c. lxxiv.—(2) Chap.
 lxxv. vol. 2.—(3) I borrow this name from FROISSART—
 "la Partie des Jacquiers," vol. 1, chap. clxxxiv.—(4) Vol.
 2, chap. lxxv.—(5) Vol 2. chap. lxxvi. Douze eschevins
 dont les neuf se estoient pour lui (le maire) et pour le Roi
 (si comme ils le monstrent) et les trois de la Secté de ce
 Mechant Peuple, si comme il fut depuis seu cognu.

all their demands ; of whom not a fourth part knew what they were(1).

England then occupied the same important place in Christendom which she does now : she was then recognized as the very Keystone of the Arch of Polished Society ; and Foreign States felt and confessed the awful truth, that the success of TYLER would have covered the face of Europe with murder and anarchy—"Re-
gard (says FROISSART), this great piece of
"good fortune : if these Conspirators had at-
"tained their end, they would have destroyed
"all the Nobility in England, and afterwards
"all the lower people of other Nations would
"have rebelled(2)." The object of the Foreign Jacquiery will be immediately described.

Thus this dreadful Revolution of Europe was for the time suspended ; but the spirit was not ultimately subdued. This Writer, to whose Chronicle the events of every day give new interest, further gives an account of the state of the party of the Jacquiery in France and the Netherlands in that very year. In Paris, they had provided arms for 30,000 men ; in Champagne, on the Banks of the Marne, at Orleans, at Blois

(1) FROISSART, vol. 2, chap. lxxiv.—(2) Chap. lxxv.

in Normandy, in Beauvoisin, the lower people were prepared for an Insurrection, and for the diabolical purpose of exterminating all the Nobility and Gentry(1); from which Providence alone preserved them.

The populace of Flanders were then in arms against their Count, under Du Bois and the Younger ARTEVELLE, against whom the KING of FRANCE and the flower of his Nobility were then on their march. NICHOLAS, the Fleming, persuaded the Jacquiers at Paris to postpone their insurrection till they saw what fortune should decide with respect to their friends in Flanders. The brilliant victory obtained by the Army of CHARLES at Rosbecque, saved the Gentry of all Christendom from a general massacre(2). We have a second and similar instance of the migration of these dreadful Insurrections at the distance of nearly two centuries after. When CHARLES the Fifth left Spain to receive the Imperial Crown, the Faction of the Levellers usurped all authority, and laid waste a great part of Spain. Five years after, a similar Insurrection broke out in the

(1) Vol. 2, chap. cxx. I transcribe his French: leur étoit le Diable entré en tête occire.—(2) FROISSART, vol. 2, chap. cxvii.

Empire (1): the most horrible ravages were committed in many parts of it, and it was not entirely subdued until the end of twelve years; and finally, in the year 1549, or thirteen years after it had been quelled in Germany, it broke out in England: There were Insurrections in different parts of the Kingdom, some under the pretext of Religion; others were what BAKER calls "Commonwealth Mutineers(2)." There were three greater bodies of them, one of which declared against Monarchy, and for the proscription of the Nobility and Gentry; another, that they would have no Gentry, Lawyers, Judges, Justices, and no Inclosures: this amounts to a complete anarchy. They also had in contemplation a National Convention, which they called "a Parliament in Commotion;" which was to have begun at the North and South Seas of England. The great difficulty with which two of these bodies were vanquished separately, shews, that if they had effected their projected junction, it would have involved the Kingdom in ruin. Thus it appears, that the breaking out of the levelling spirit in any

(1) LUTHER had used some unguarded expressions, on the religious equality of men as Christians, on which MUNCER founded the doctrine of their absolute unqualified equality as men.—(2) Chronicle.

one State, ought to operate as a signal to Men of Property in every other Nation, to prepare themselves to resist ; which cannot be done effectively by any other means than an Armed Association ; which can never be relaxed or dissolved while the danger continues.

At each of these periods which I have considered, this principle of Jacquerie, or Jacobinism, produced a series of successive Insurrections in different Countries ; and the length of the intervals between each point out, perhaps, that the minds of men were less pre-disposed to embrace them than at present ; but now the ruin of one Country is scarcely consummated by it, before that of another is begun ; and Europe, at this instant, resembles a great Metropolis on fire : the last flames may be hardly visible, and the smoke almost cease to ascend in the great quarter where it broke out, while the conflagration is rolling along, and varying its direction, is now raging in all its fury in this part, or has just reached others. To stop its devastation calls for the utmost exertion, courage, and skill of all its inhabitants ; and for the sacrifice of something, to preserve all that remains to them.

I come

I come now to the conclusion of this Tract, lengthened far beyond my original intention, and in which, notwithstanding, many important considerations are without doubt omitted. The matter of this addition will be miscellaneous. I here shall say something of the coldness with which those who admit the magnitude and probability of this danger seem to feel it; too clearly demonstrated in the inactivity with which measures to repel it are now taken up, so as to amount to almost a total desertion of them; for the energy of that spirit which animated the Kingdom as one man in the latter end of 1792, exists now in a very feeble degree: it is not proper to enter here into the causes of its unfortunate and accelerated decline.

The languidness of public spirit is an evil which has been growing upon us for a century; and it has risen from a cause which has not been much attended to. For that whole term, we have been relatively in a course of great prosperity and security; and the sense of the latter has been particularly increased by the greatness of our Naval Superiority over every other Nation; but no principle retains its due force in the mind, which is not called forth

into actual exercise with a proper degree of frequency; and in a long state of National Security, the opportunities of exerting this principle must present themselves very seldom; Public Spirit is built upon an ardent love of our Country, and it is in the periods of its danger alone, that it can be kindled into any great energy.

We feel little interest in scenes which we have been unaccustomed to act in: the novelty may please us for a little time; but our old habitual train of action and pursuit soon makes them disgusting. Yet in Public Affairs of a consequence infinitely below the measure recommended, and in which we have been accustomed to act, we can exert energy enough: in a contested Election we are always sure of seeing enough brought forward; men of the best ability ready at every moment to attend a necessary consultation; men of the greatest influence and popularity of character crossing a country in all directions, and at all times, to gain recruits for their party. If they would employ half the arrangement, half the personal exertion and solicitation, to raise recruits for their Country in this new danger to which it is exposed, Great Britain would see the force she
already

already has on foot augmented in a fortnight I
by a force of the finest description, as far forth
as it shall be thought necessary to discipline
it; because the individuals who compose it
will be the best elements for the composition
of an Army.

I say, the class of men now proposed to take
arms, are the best elements for the composition
of an Army; and I say it on no feeble autho-
rity—it is that of OLIVER CROMWELL; he told
the Generals of the Parliament, that Regiments
formed of men degraded in situation, and ha-
bitually considered as the baser parts of Society,
and depressed in their own spirits by it, would
never look in the face bodies whose ranks were
composed of the Yeomanry of the Kingdom,
and men possessed of some property, led on by
a gallant Gentry, whom they had been accus-
tomed to regard with that deference which the
free spirit of all others most faithfully pays to
its superiors. CROMWELL formed his own
regiment of horse upon this principle; and it
contributed much to his fortunes, and the event
of the war. And we may hope for the same
energy in the Troops of the same Constitution
which we possess, and in the reinforcement
which they will receive by the Association, as
it will be employed in a better cause.

I shall

I shall say a word more of the utility which experience has already shewn that levies nearly of this description possess. Ireland has, for years, been infested with local insurrections : it was found that the Irish Volunteers were much more effective in reducing the Insurgents to order than the Regulars ; most of them were personally known to the Troops who acted against them ; hence they had two dangers to encounter in every action—that of the contest itself, the certainty of prosecution, and the fullness of evidence against them on a trial. Thus it was found, that a Company of Volunteers were more effective in suppressing an Insurrection than a Regiment of Regulars.

In this state of Conspiracy in one part of the multitude, and fermentation in the minds of all, every minute may be big with the fate of the Nation ; not one, therefore, ought to be suffered to pass by, without exerting all our endeavours to put it in a state of security. If you say your interest may be affected by a sacrifice of time, and of expence, I say, that if the plan of Association should be adopted, means, without doubt, will be found to indemnify those in their real losses, in whom the advance of such a plea would be justifiable ; and that

no

no interest can be so great as that which every man has in the whole that he possesses; that his whole possessions are in danger, and his interest in a part thereof should be sacrificed to that whole.

To men of smaller property, the loss of time may, and ought to be compensated: to those in a more opulent situation, it may be said, Your interest and those of your families will not be affected by it. Whatever be your favourite pursuits, when you are menaced by a ruin which will for ever deprive you of all the means by which you are gratified in them, whether they be exercises of the field, or the enjoyments of society; the cultivation of the elegant or the ingenious arts; of the severer sciences or the other useful and ornamental studies, some part of your time and attention must, of necessity, be withdrawn from them, and devoted to a new but necessary object, in order to secure to them the remainder.—Spend a little more time where the centre of your influence is⁽¹⁾: give a little attention to actions and opinions there: endeavour to increase that influence, that you may use it for the

(1) See also *Young on National Danger*.

good of your Country ; and thus re-consolidate ; if not increase, the union of the classes of Society. And if your conduct be copied, the union of every class of Society with that next above and below it, will be re-consolidated, if not increased ; and its old powers to repel the danger which threatens it, be indefinitely augmented ; and new ones generated ; and as to both expence and time, most men of this class will be able to repay themselves in their expences : there are always some cumbersome unenjoyed object, which they condemn themselves to go through the waste of without gratification, which if gotten rid of, refines it and makes it more enjoyed ; and if they will give up what these absorb, it will be much more than is wanted ; and there are parts of every man's time which he is forced to kill with the most laborious inaction, which will fully suffice for this purpose, and which will thus be gotten rid of without trouble and disquiet, and we shall find ourselves happier, with being able to fill it up with energy and utility.

The object primarily intended by the Associations is National Defence ; but like many other great measures, its effect will not stop at the attainment of its first object : it will continue

tinue to operate ; and on the most interesting of all subjects, the National Character ; and its effect thereon is not to be left out of the calculation, when we are summing up its advantages. I proceed to trace it, and upon the best authorities.

Commerce daily multiplies the objects of personal gratification, and the means of obtaining them ; and the spirit of Commercial Nations is too powerfully and almost exclusively drawn to a course of acquisition and enjoyment : in such a State, says FERGUSON in his History of Civil Society, “ *if the individual not called to unite with his Country be left to pursue his private advantage, we may find him become effeminate, mercenary and sensual* (1). This effect must take place in all ordinary establishments, *where the energy of the upper and middle ranks of the whole mass of a Nation is not called into actual exercise at due intervals* (2). And a man (he further says) who “ *in concert with his fellow subjects, contends with the usurpation*” (of a foreign or domestic power) “ *in defence of his estate or his person, may in that struggle have found an exertion of great generosity and vigorous spirit* (3).”

(1) Edition 3d, p. 416.—(2) Ib. p. 372.—(3) Ib. p. 369.

Thus new habits of thinking and acting are superinduced among us; a character of more manliness, nobility and energy is formed in each individual, and regenerated in a people at large. "And when the danger shall be repelled, it will retain the spirit of activity which was recently awakened, and be equally vigorous in every pursuit, whether of policy, learning or arts; from having appeared on the brink of ruin, they pass on to the greatest prosperity (1)."

It remains now only to enquire how far this proposed Association is agreeable to the principles of the Constitution, which in this matter are most clearly to be traced in the measures of those great men who brought about the Revolution of 1688.

The mixed form of Government is the best: for the secure attainment of its ends, it must depend upon a duly proportioned mixture of the spirit of Loyalty and of Liberty; and as

(1) FRACUSON, p. 353. The same principles on the necessity of the mixture of the military with the commercial spirit in the mass of Society, are also fully proved in his Sketches, Book 2, Sk. 6, on Peace and War; and Sk. 9, on the Army.

either

either of them runs into fanaticism, it is exposed to degenerate into the tyranny of a Despot, or of ten thousand Despots: a Tyrant can only form the wish that a Nation had but one neck, that it might be destroyed at a single blow: the Leaders of Anarchy have, with their new machinery, been almost able to carry it into effect.

Either of these fanaticisms is destructive to Liberty, and must bring on national ruin. But ruin differs, in proportion to the depth to which we are plunged in it: we sometimes are threatened with it by the one and sometimes by the other of these fanaticisms; and Opposition has admitted that the calamities in which France has been involved, far exceeds what History informs us that Nations have suffered from the despotism of any individual. We are threatened with the same here, and they exceed beyond limit whatever we had to fear from the bigotted tyranny of JAMES. Every measure, therefore, which came then legitimately under the title of "necessary means" to preserve the Constitution, by effecting the Revolution, it is consistent with that great precedent to adopt at this juncture. One of these was described by Mr. LECHMERE, to be "the

" concurrence of many Subjects of the Realm,
 " who came over with the PRINCE of ORANGE
 " in his enterprize, and of many others of all
 " ranks and orders, who appeared in arms in
 " many parts of the Kingdom in aid of that
 " enterprize (1)." That concurrence was de-
 clared by an Association of the kind recom-
 mended here. Its matter, as described by Dr.
 BURNET, who drew it up, was an Engagement
 of the Subscribers " to stick together, in pur-
 " suing the ends of the Prince's Declaration."
 The act of Association was "*a necessary means*"
 to give effect to this concurrence. For Sir
 EDWARD SEYMOUR declared, that the party
 would be " a rope of sand without it." An
 attack therefore on an Armed Association, for
 the preservation of the Constitution, to be en-
 tered into by those who believe in the existence
 of the present danger to it, is an attack upon
 the memory of those excellent men who pre-
 served it entire at the Revolution; and a re-
 probation of what the Commons declared (2),
 in " words made choice of *with the greatest*
 "*caution*," the " necessary means" of securing
 our Religion, Laws and Liberties; a reprobation

(1) SACHEVERELL's Trial, 870. Tonson, 1710, p. 32.—

(2) Speech of Mr. LECHMER, *in the House of Commons*

tion of what, in the Preface to the Articles exhibited on that Trial, they declared "ought to be justified (1) ;" and to justify which, was the great object of their instituting that solemn and important proceeding. The sober practical principles acted upon at the Revolution form the shield of sober Liberty: and may they continue the defence and ornament of a Constitution, planned by the wisdom, founded by the labours, cemented by the blood, of a long illustrious line of Legislators, of Patriots, and Heroes, till time and that noble structure shall come to a period together.

(1) Trial, p. 7.

[The page contains extremely faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.]

This image shows a blank, aged, light gray page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf from an old book. The paper has a visible texture and some minor blemishes or foxing, characteristic of old paper. There is no text or other markings on the page.

This image shows a blank, aged, cream-colored page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of a book. The paper has a textured appearance with numerous small dark spots, possibly foxing or dirt, scattered across its surface. There are also faint, illegible markings and smudges, particularly towards the bottom edge. The overall tone is a light beige or off-white.

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SUPPLEMENT.

ON THE DEBATES AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE WHIG CLUB,

ON THE SIXTH OF JUNE, 1797.

IN the meeting of the Whig Club on June 6th, there appeared some strong symptoms of a difference of opinion: it was then moved and carried, that the Members of the Club should solemnly pledge themselves to exert all lawful means to obtain for the People a full, fair, and free Representation in Parliament; that is, an alteration in the Constitution of the Commons House.

It is evident that a Legislature may retain all its constituent parts, and the Government still be mixed, although the proportion of effective power lodged in any one of the branches be increased in any proportion. Thus, in a Constitution like our own, the power of the Crown, the Lords, or the Commons, may be so increased as

to render it in effect, although not in name, an absolute Monarchy, an Aristocracy, or a Democracy; and to the first of these states it was reduced under the TUDORS; to the second in the reign of HENRY the Sixth; and to the last under some part of that of CHARLES the First. And with respect to the Constitution, as *recognized* by the Bill of Rights, any one of these changes would be an effective ~~Common~~ Revolution (1). But Mr. Fox declared at that meeting, that the measure of the change must be such, as to bring about "a fundamental change in the plan of administration (2)."

Such is the spirit, and such would be the consequences of carrying this Resolution into effect. It is the fourth in a string of five: it seems directly repugnant to the conclusion of the first, by which the Club pledges itself "to resist by all lawful means *every departure* from the Constitution, which at that glorious *era* was so manfully asserted (3);" words binding them to the defence of that individual Constitution without alteration, one great integral part of which was an English House of Commons, elected by the same political bodies who are now Electors, and no other.

This was the true principle of the Whig Club at its institution: accordingly, when the plan of what is called the Reform, was first taken up by Mr. GREY, many

(1) The object of the Revolution was to perpetuate the existence of legal proportion of power of all the parts of the Constitution of *Governments*. SACHEVERELL'S Trial.—(2) Morning Chronicle, June 7, 1797.—(3) Morning Chronicle, June 8, 1797.

who

who favoured it, judged it proper to secede from the Whig Club, and to form a new Society apart from it, under the title of the Friends of the People.

This measure, which would have been rejected by the Club six years ago, was brought in by surprize: no notice was given of it by Advertisement, and the design was even unknown to many (1); and on this account one of its most distinguished Members proposed the Declaration to be put off. This is the first time that the Club has given any opinion as a body on the subject; and there is little doubt to be entertained, that many of its Members are highly dissatisfied with it. There are those among them, who in this general ferment have serious apprehensions of the effect of that revolutionary policy of the Leaders, reprobated even by BRISSOT himself, who thus by their "own proper authority" constitute their Clubs into Political Bodies (2)."

Although we find no apprehensions of this nature, or of Secessions in consequence of it, expressed in Mr. Fox's Speech, we see the effects of it: with much address, and not seeming to look that way, he shapes out an opportunity to take strong preventive measures against this hazard: covered by seeming to serve, and, effectively in some measure, serving other purposes.

Mr. Fox on that day *assumed* to himself that he has remained fixed to his principles, and in consequence of

Ln (1) See Debate, Morning Chronicle. — (2) Constituer ainsi, de sa propre autorité ces Sociétés en Corps Politiques. A ses Commentaires, Londres, 1794.

that, considered his Party as suffering by Secessions before; and he lamented "the total division that had been made among those persons who in former times had distinguished themselves in opposition to the influence of the Crown (1)." And then, to give no obscure intimation of what a second set of Seceders may have to expect, from calumny rendered more hot and arid from its terms of duration, under his powerful guidance and direction, with feigned or real indignation he says, that even "the confidence of mankind had been shaken by examples of Apostasy which were unexpected (2)." Both the policy and the matter of these declarations appear to deserve considerable notice.

To describe the political use to be made of calumnies, especially when the mind of the public is in a state of fermentation, no objection can be made to sound republican authority: that of Mr. BRISSOT will serve us here again—"there is very little liberty of opinion, where the fear of calumny reigns."—"very few men can brave the daily martyrdom of unjust reproaches." He even couples this with the perpetual fear of assassination, and says, that combined they formed "the two edged sword of the Anarchists; by which they found the means to subdue the Landed Aristocrats, who feared a natural, and the men of pretended independence, who feared a moral assassination." To describe the management and effects of this machine of terror, the fear of calumny employed as part of a system, Mr. BRISSOT returns in several

(1) Morning Chronicle, June 7, 1797.—(2) Ibid.

places. It is only to be added, that he describes very well the secondary use Mr. Fox might intend the change to serve, which he and his friends may be willing to say was his sole object; and to which the proper answer will be a smile. Speaking of a certain Club, he (Mr. BRISSET) informs us, "in this manner, "factory of *calumnies* every thing is daily disorganized: "the Administration, the Police, and the Army(1)."

So much on the compound motive of the charge; now to consider the charge itself. If the nullity of it be shewn, if it be shewn that he advances it with a political indiscretion, fatal but familiar to himself, although it holds out a promise of future denunciations against those whom, it is to be hoped, the formal adoption of the new principle in the Club, militating against the letter of the old one, and the dangers of the present crisis, may incline to secede and strengthen Government, they will hold it but as what it is, a thing of nought: its effects will have no weight in determining their conduct, nor will they apprehend much from his future fulminations.

To do this, the charge of Apostacy must be examined: it is founded on the different sentiments lately held by Mr. Fox and some distinguished persons with whom he formerly acted, on the subject of the French Revolution.

The true and legal Constitution of France, has always for many centuries been a limited Monarchy; or the Government of Three Estates under a King; but

(1) See p. 26.

the legal form had been suspended so long, that it never seemed likely to be revived. It perished in the very instant of its restoration, by a Revolution introducing the first Constitution, which perished in a short time; by a second introducing a Republic; which was subverted again by a third, a mongrel form of mixed Monarchy, with five elective Sovereigns periodically changed.

Those of the Duke of PORTLAND's Party who concurred in the War, originally wished for, and actively forwarded measures for the restoration of the Legal Constitution of France⁽¹⁾; whether or not they thought it required some modification to make it effective, is at present of little import. It is on this account that Mr. Fox brings against them the charge of Apostasy. He assumes to stand upon very eminent ground, on account of the uniformity and steadiness with which he has always maintained the principles which he now declares for. But if he be admitted to have been fixed, as he declares, it admits of proof that he has a species of fixedness belonging to him of a very oscillating kind; which may be best illustrated by that of a ship riding off at sea by a single anchor, which at every turn of the tide swings about, and brings her head round to a

(1) In 1691 KING WILLIAM, with other parties, entered into "a solemn Engagement in the presence of Almighty God," to prosecute the War against the KING of FRANCE until this object was effected. And the Parliament, consisting chiefly of the Leaders of the Revolution, year after year afterwards, voted large sums for the vigorous prosecution of the War. The PORTLAND Party, therefore, on this subject conformed to the principles of the Authors of the Revolution. This Engagement is considered in another point of view farther on.

point of the compass diametrically opposite to that it stood toward before.

For let it be granted, that previous to the French Revolution, Mr. Fox and his former Friends had a common principle with regard to the interposition of this Nation in the forms and detail of administration of Government of Foreign States; and let him be permitted, in his own expressions, to be the Expositor of that common principle⁽¹⁾; if he be fond of harsh words, be it also admitted to him, for argument sake, that the person or persons who recently have spoken and acted diametrically opposite to this, are *Apostates*; then let us examine to which of the two the title, on his own shewing, belongs, to himself or to his former friends, against whom he now sets himself in opposition.

The Partizans of Republican Liberty in Holland had very nearly effected a Revolution in 1787: the former Constitution was re-imposed upon that Country by a combination of Kings, of which the KING of GREAT BRITAIN was a Member. After the measure had succeeded, that event was announced in Parliament, in a Speech from the Throne; it states something about lawful Government having been, by *our interposition*, re-instated in that Country. Mr. Fox, by the Reporters of the Debates, is stated to have declared:

"For myself, I do not think it necessary to inquire
"into the legality of the Constitution of a Foreign State.

(1) Nobody ever followed him to the length he laid it down.

"It

"It is sufficient for me to consider which party is most inclined to be friendly to Great Britain (1);" or rather, as the latter part of this extract is stated in another Work, of which this quotation is *prima facie* an abridgment, "where there are two parties in a Country, one of them hostile and the other friendly to us, we have a right to interfere in support of that which is friendly."

In the latter end of 1798, we find Mr. Fox arguing against this principle: and on the 27th of May 1799, he declared, that "to attempt giving any Country a Constitution, is detestable (2)." The like must be true of assisting the weaker party to restore an old one or to frame a new one.

If the word Apostate were the proper term to be used on this occasion, it must be applied to Mr. Fox. There is one observation, however, to make on his first declaration; it goes a little too far for the point here wanted to be proved: it shews, indeed, the secession from the Party to have been made by Mr. Fox; but their common principles never extended to the lengths laid down by him ten years ago. They held indeed, that there were cases in which one State might interfere in behalf of a party in another; but they never maintained, that I have heard, that the interference of one Nation to sub-

(1) New Annual Register, 1788. History, p. 51.—(2) DEBRET'S Parliamentary Debates, 1787, vol. 23, p. 41, where he is made to say that the friendliness of the Government we establish, is the only point to be considered: that the legality of it is a redundant circumstance, not of consequence enough to be mentioned in the Speech.

vert the lawful Government of another was allowable, merely to give power to their friends.

I must return again to the matter of these two contradictory declarations, and shall therefore now go to some circumstances attending them, which have their curiosity. Nations, like individuals, have their true and false honour, and the gratification of their pride by the attainment of either, is very fascinating to the individuals composing a State. Shall we admit, that, dazzled with splendid appearance attending the success of the interposition of his Country, his principles were laid asleep by it for a short time? Mr. Fox himself has taken pains to preclude the possibility of supposing such a thing in his favour.

The "principal object" of the Speech from the Throne, the subject he was then discussing, was to obtain the approbation of Parliament to the interposition of the Executive Power in the affairs of the domestic government of Holland. That his former eye was not dazzled by the events of this minute, is proved by the declaration he then made:

That he must contradict every political principle upon which he had hitherto acted, if he refused his approbation to the principal object of the Speech from the Throne (1).

But when the very next event to which the principal object was applicable, brought it upon the carpet, he

(1) New Annual Register, 1788, p. 51.

declared,

declared, "that his own argument upon that head had
 "always been, that no one State had a right to model the
 "internal polity of another(1)." This amounts at least
 to a proof, that since the French Revolution, Mr. Fox
 had always argued upon grounds contrary to every po-
 litical principle upon which he had acted to the year
 1788; and being the proper Expositor of his own
 principles, a deserter from them he certainly became on
 the French Revolution.

But the zeal displayed by him on the second of these
 occasions, completely to contradict every thing he had
 said on the first, has not yet had sufficient justice
 done to it. In 1787, and 1793, our aid was called in
 by the same parties in Holland: he further is stated
 to have said on the first of these occasions:

"Those principles which have been long stigmatized
 "as *romantic*, constitute the system by which it is the true
 "interest of this Country to be governed(2)." And on
 the second, which stands on the same ground, he gives
 this opinion: "It is urged, that we went into the *War*
 "to save Holland: of the *Quixotic idea* of going to war
 "to save others, he should not say any thing; but he
 "could not think it was real chivalry to save the Dutch
 "against their will(3)." It is by the repetition of a
 charge of Apostacy against his former friends, so well
 founded, that he hopes to restrain what he calls future

(1) WOODFALL'S Debates, vol. 7, p. 355, on the Motion of Mr. WIL-
 SON, May 27, 1795. — (2) New Ann. Register, p. 51. — (3) WOOD-
 FALL'S Debates, vol. 7, p. 354.

desertion.

desertions. Such censures hardly can be objects of apprehension.

It has been promised to return to a further consideration of the two first positions contrasted above, that when there are two Parties in a Country, we have a right to support that which is friendly to us in the rule of it, without regard to the legality of its claim⁽¹⁾: and that it is detestable to attempt giving a Constitution to a Country. Of these it is to be observed, that neither of them is entitled to the name of a principle; they are opposite falsehoods only.

Of the first little need be said: as to the other, I should not expect it would find a second supporter in the Members of the Whig Club. According to this, the memory of ELIZABETH is detestable, who effectively gave a new Constitution to the Hollanders; and perhaps unexpectedly to herself; by sending the English to fight in the cause of Liberty, she taught them to honour, and ultimately caused them to attain it. In the papers of the Whig Club, they speak of the Constitution as having been established at the Revolution; on which also this position is a libel. For WILLIAM Prince of Orange, himself a Foreigner, backed by a Foreign Force, attempted to make this Revolution, and succeeded in it; and his attempt must be thought detestable, according to this doctrine.

(1) This was done by re-imposing the old Constitution upon Holland after the Democratic Party had changed it.

Has Mr. Fox never studied that great standard of the principles of the illustrious Men who effected the Revolution, solemnly and deliberately consigned to posterity by that House of Commons which impeached Dr. SACHEVERELL? Has Mr. Fox never read the first four lines of the Articles exhibited against him in the House of Peers, in these words?—

“Whereas his late Majesty KING WILLIAM the Third, then *Prince of Orange*, did, with an armed force, undertake a glorious enterprize for the delivering this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power,” &c. &c.—which, with other means to effect the Revolution, that House “declared to have been necessary, and that the same ought to be justified (1).” It is presumed, that there is a great number of the Members of the Whig Club who will withdraw themselves from a Meeting, the Leader of which has, by general description, declared this enterprize to have been detestable.

But further, this epithet detestable, applied to all such interposition, militates as strongly against the memory of KING WILLIAM OF ENGLAND, as WILLIAM PRINCE OF ORANGE; a memory which all true Englishmen esteem on the whole to be glorious; for he acted again on the same principle, neither more nor less extended, when in 1691, in an assembly of several German Princes, and the Ambassadors of all the Allies, he induced them to publish a joint Declaration, “that they entered into a solemn Engagement in the presence of Almighty

(1) Trial, 8vo. TONSON, 1710, p. 7.

“ God,

“ God, to preserve their present union, and to prosecute
 “ the War against the KING of FRANCE, till (among
 “ other objects specified) he should establish an entire
 “ Liberty of Conscience (1); re-establish in their
 “ rights and liberties the Estates of the Kingdom;
 “ and raise no Supply without their consent legally
 “ called.”

That those who are attached to our Constitution, as
 recognized at the Revolution, and to the memory of that
 Prince who made it securely our own, should, on this
 point, dissent from this man, is surely not to be won-
 dered at: that those who profess the same sentiments,
 and hold them forth to the world as their common bond
 of union, should retire from a Body of which he is the
 Head, will not be at all to be wondered at. He may, at
 he has threatened, endeavour to give the name of Apo-
 tacy to their Secession, with as little effect as formerly.

Thus the very authorities of Law and History to
 which the Whig Club, at the head of almost all its
 Declarations, gives the important, very important sanc-
 tion of its support, all condemn as unqualified assertions.
 There remains only one authority to which he can ap-
 peal, and which has received a sanction from the same
 Parties, equal in force, but differing in form—**LOCKE'S**
 Principles of Civil Government. But of all condem-
 nations of his declaration, as meant to be applied by him,
 the most explicit and full is to be found in **LOCKE**.

(1) Declaration of the Allies.—MACPHERSON'S History, vol. 1, p. 683.

I here give an account of his doctrines upon this subject :

Man not being a member of any Political Society, has certain rights and duties: they are marked out by the "law of his nature (1)." And in this state, "every man has a power to punish a crime, to prevent its being committed again (2), *by the right he has of preserving all mankind (3).*"

Every man becomes thus, "the executioner of the law of nature (4) ;" and thus every man "has a power to kill a murderer," to secure men from the attempts of "a criminal, who, having renounced reason, the common rule and measure God hath given to mankind, hath by the unjust violence he hath committed upon one, declared war against all mankind; and therefore may be destroyed as a Lion or a Tyger, one of those wild savage beasts with whom men can have no society nor security."

I stop to draw a corollary from this: if hundreds of such criminals should combine in any form, or by any compact, and give that form any name, and massacre thousands, this right of punishment, vested in the whole remainder of mankind, would not be abrogated.

It is to be observed, that rights were given us for our own good and the good of others; both which ends it

(1) LOCKE on Civil Government, 54.—(2) *Ib.* 511.—(3) *Ib.* 511.—
(4) *Ib.* 58.

is our duty to promote by all the means we have a right to employ; therefore, it is our duty to exercise these rights, and non-feasance is a breach of our duty: and agreeably to this, Mr. LOCKE says, "every one, as he
 "is bound to preserve himself, and not to quit his station wilfully, so by the like reason, when his own
 "preservation comes not in competition, ought he as
 "much as he can *to preserve the rest of mankind.*"

The punishment of such criminals, would therefore be the duty of men, not members of any Political Society, as far as *their own preservation* comes not into competition with it. Suppose them now by their own act to coalesce into a Society, they could not by any act to be done among themselves, absolve themselves from any pre-existing duty to the rest of mankind. All the change such Association could effect with respect to the performance of this duty, is, that by the union of force they would so acquire, their exertions would become easier and more effectual. On the increase of the ease with which any duty may be performed, no exemption from the performance of it can be set up; the bond is drawn the tighter, when local circumstances or other causes have separated man from what Mr. LOCKE (1) has called the "great and natural community" into smaller and "divided Associations," or Nations; they do not absolve them from this duty of each to all, and all to each.

And this power of punishing crimes both in the Society and out of it, devolves upon the Magistrate. This

(1) Sect. 128.

is the sentiment of Mr. LOCKE, as appears by the following words: "the power of doing whatsoever any man thought fit for the preservation of himself and the rest of mankind, he gives up to be regulated by laws (1)." The power of punishing universally all transgressors of the laws of nature, Mr. LOCKE had said before, follows this as its consequence; he therefore adds in this place: "the power of punishing he wholly gives up, and engages his natural force, which he might before employ in the execution of the law of nature (2) as he thought fit, to assist the executive power of the Society." By this resignation a community is formed, "and the whole is one body in the state of nature, in respect of all other states, or PERSONS out of its community." It has therefore a right of punishing all crimes committed out of the pale.

The "necessary means (3)" to destroy the tyranny of 1688, were resistance of the people, and the armed force brought over by the PRINCE of ORANGE: the defence of the first of these, is the principal object of this Treatise of Mr. LOCKE. In this he argues for the general principle, without any mention of the particular occasion of his writing the transactions of the Reign of JAMES to 1688. In like manner, without particularly mentioning it, he lays down in this work all the principles of political morality, on which the armed interposition of Holland and the PRINCE of ORANGE, in

(1) Sect. 129.—(2) Sect. 130, it is added, "as the law thereof shall require." But this law does, or ought to extend as far as the moral law of nature.—(3) Trial of SACHEVERELL.

our constitutional and domestic disputes, are to be justified. The care which he has bestowed on this part of the defence of the Revolution, is evident in his second chapter, where he lays down the foundations of each. And here we find that the right and duty of every man to be the executioner of the law of nature, is handled at a much greater length than the first subject he takes up, and in a much superior manner.

It may be hardly necessary to draw consequence in form from all this, against the declaration of Mr. Fox; but I shall add to it, that the tyranny exercised before the arrival of KING WILLIAM in England, was of a magnitude to justify the use of the "necessary means" to subvert it. These were the "glorious enterprize" of Holland, which sent "an armed force" for that purpose; "the concurrence of" the British Emigrants "who came over with" that Foreign Armament; "and of many others of all ranks and orders, who appeared in arms in aid of it." The same necessary means may be applied to pull down any tyranny of the same degree, and justly and honourably by the same agents; and consequently, to suppress any tyranny of a much higher degree; which Mr. Fox himself will confess, that of the Oligarchy which enslaved France to have been. The enterprize of England to destroy that Oligarchy, as far as it was persisted in, was therefore just(1).

Hence it appears on another ground, that Mr. Fox, if he ever held the principles of the Authors of the Re-

(1) Restoration of Property of Emigrants, 510.

olution in 1688, departed from them when he made the declaration, that "to attempt giving to any country a Constitution, was detestable (1) ;" and that he has been very unfortunate in the principles he lays down as the basis of his charges of apostacy and desertion. And it is not much to be apprehended that he will be more fortunate in the next instance.

Of the two contradictory opinions which Mr. Fox has decidedly laid down on this subject, it may be further observed, that they may come into a man's mind, and, for want of the competent use of a circumspective judgment in the course of a Debate, they may be uttered. But they will hardly obtain such a permanent residence there, as to be entitled to be called his principles. This peculiar species of mental imbecility, this want of power to restrain precipitance, may attend men otherwise of the most brilliant abilities; and it cannot escape any one, that those who endeavour after the most fervent and energetic modes of speaking, are the most liable to it.

These, which we may call point blank opinions, not being principles, if a man at different times lays down two of them in diametrical opposition to each other, it cannot be said that he has deserted his principles; and for this reason solely and exclusively it appears to be just, not to retort upon Mr. Fox his own term of Apostate. The list of his erroneous point blank opinions might be easily enlarged.

(1) DEBATE'S Debates, 1795, p. 415.

He is led into these most probably by an affectation of vigour, and decisiveness in speaking, and to avoid the languor which circuitry in argument seems attended with. Most principles require so much limitation, that their simplicity is almost destroyed by it; but the simpler and bolder any principle is, and the less the circuitry by which its consequence is drawn from it, the stronger is the total impression of an argument. Now point blank opinions may be at any time vamped up, very specious if splendidly expressed, which shall possess all these qualities, and direct arguments drawn from them will make a profound impression on many of the middlingly informed class, and all below them. And this fashion of laying down opinions on the greatest subjects for their momentary effect, soon becomes habit in an opposition; the advantages derived from this mode of debating may (while it continues such) exceed the disadvantages: the responsibility of each for his own errors is apparently at the moment no great object; and for those connected with him still less. Yet by giving way to his precipitancy, Mr. Fox has corrupted his own victories, and prepared at least, if not ensured, the sudden fall of the strongest Administration of which he ever was a member. I cannot stop to analyze many of his measures; for his attachment to point blank opinions, which I believe he honours with the name of simple principles, has led him into many false measures. Even the rapidity and energy of his speaking are, in one point of view, a misfortune to him, and to those who are connected with him. They operate as a restraint on the freedom of the opinions of all those with whom he deliberates: they only half bring forward their sentiments, oppose

his with hesitation, and drop their purpose in a very little time: their minds have little action upon his: their juster ideas do not find their way into it: when a turbid torrent comes rushing from the mountains, a placid but clear brook may fall into it, but its impetuous rapidity long prevents the mixture of the streams, and hinders the purification of its own waters. These are not safe qualities in a Leader, to the Party which acts in conjunction with him: they pass the splendid but regulated ardour of a fine General in Chief. We see only the fire of a determined partizan, which requires a good deal of regulation, not to be dangerous to the side on which he serves.

These habits are now apparently strengthened in him: they have followed him into office, and there have drawn him into measures, if not false, certainly precipitate and ill prepared; and those who have been attached to his cause, and laboured to promote it, have more than once found, that he is more successful in fighting his way up to power, than in retaining it; and the fruits of the labour and contention of years have been lost to him in months.

The occasion of these reflections is this—in the debate in the Whig Club, Mr. Fox, after having laid down his system for the salvation of the Kingdom, adds, “that to be sincerely acted upon, it must be fulfilled by its Authors:” among these he himself stands first in rank. But it is certain, that so important is a stability in men and measures at present, that it would be attended with the last danger to the State, to see one
 Party

Party come in only to go out; and another Party go out only to come in again. It shews also to those Members of the Club, whom the awful situation of the affairs of the State inclines to give a necessary aid to Legal Government, that they have as little to hope from Mr. Fox's obtaining, at any future period, possession of power of the ordinary length, as they have to fear from the calumny with which their taking this truly patriotic part may be pursued.

Mr. Fox seems to me, in his declaration at this meeting of the Whig Club, to have been very apprehensive of the concurrence of a part of its Members to support Government at this critical juncture; and to have laboured to draw them from their intentions, by a declaration *in terrorem*. All Clubs, and larger Sections of Clubs, have the common character of Men, in those points which lead men wrong. Very frequently their actions are much inflated from the course their better judgment points out, by apprehension and expectation. These two perverse biasses of the judgment, I endeavour by these arguments to remove, by shewing that from his invective they have nothing to fear; and from his future power nothing to hope: and therefore to put the whole question on the footing of self-interest only, although nobler motives sway many, his intemperate denunciations ought to have no weight with them, to deter them from following the result of their own unbiassed reasonings.

I have produced no more instances of this singular impotence of mind, which corrupts the effect of all
Mr.

Mr. Fox's brilliant and attaching qualities; this stronger habitual precipitancy, which drags one of the strongest reasons from her throne, and tramples her under her feet, and always must do so; than what the points I have endeavoured to establish have called me to the consideration of. It is no more than the subsection of a Critique of his Political Character that I am writing; and I state myself to be a man who once came to think very well of his political views, and highly of his political efficiency: then dropped the first article of his new Creed, and retained the second; and now believes in neither: as a man who had once surveyed with considerable approbation a certain set of qualities, and thought he saw them in a certain individual: his approbation of the qualities remains, but he no longer believes them inherent in that individual. Some of his reasons he gives, which he esteems sufficient; and therefore humbly supplicates, of the last articulation of the rump of the phalanx, that they will spare the application of the term *Apostate* to him.

The State has an interest in the Characters of those who possess, and those who aspire after Public Offices; their qualities and faculties, moral, natural and acquired, which may be converted to its use, are part of its wealth, and perhaps the most effective part of it; for States rich in this nobler treasure never have been undone: a statement of their Characters, therefore, in this point of view, is only settling an item of the national account; and this awful crisis demands every greater article of this important account to be truly stated.